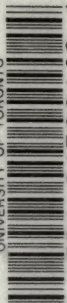


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REPRINT OF
"LEYCESTERS COMMONWEALTH"

1641

HISTORY
OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH, AMY ROBSART
AND
THE EARL OF LEICESTER
BEING A REPRINT
OF
“Leycesters Commonwealth”
1641

“No scandal about Queen Elizabeth I hope.”—*The Critic*.

EDITED BY
FRANK J. ^{AMES} BURGOYNE

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DEDICATED TO
SIR EDWIN DURNING-LAWRENCE,
Bt., M.P.,
OF
KING'S RIDE, ASCOT.

INTRODUCTION.

THE historical work here reproduced throws considerable light upon the life of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the political history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The book was printed on the Continent in 1584. Where, is unknown, but probably at Antwerp. It was first published under the title "Copie of a Leter Wryten by a Master of Arte of Cambrige to his friend in London." The interest excited by its issue was considerable. In 1585, the year following its publication, it was translated into French under the title *Discours de la vie abominable, ruses, trahisons, . . . et autres tres iniques conversations desquelles a usé le my Lorde de Lecestre*; and a Latin version was also published at Naples in the same year, entitled *Flores Calvinistici decerpti ex vita Roberti Dudley, comitis Leicestriæ*.

These editions, although printed on the Continent,

must have had a considerable circulation in England, for the Queen in Council on June 20th, 1585, found it necessary to repudiate the assertions contained in the work. In a letter addressed to the Magistrates of Cheshire, she writes :—

“Her Highness not only knoweth to assured certainty the books and libels against the said Earl to be most malicious, false and scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true.”

There is no doubt that careful watch was kept for the book at the various ports, and many copies were seized and destroyed. This led to extensive copying of the work in England and its circulation in manuscript; there being many more contemporary manuscript copies now in existence than copies of the printed book. Anthony Wood never saw a copy of the first issue, and writes respecting it, that he thought it was first printed in 1600; and the great collector Thomas Grenville wrote in a manuscript copy, now preserved in the British Museum,¹

¹ Additional MSS., 33,739.

"I never heard of more than one copy having been in print of this first edition, so carefully was it suppressed."

The book has been described¹ as

"one of the most inveterate and scurrilous libels which the religious dissensions of the times, prolific as they were, had produced. . . . In its pages everything was raked together which the tongue of scandal had uttered to the disparagement of the exalted statesman whom it strove to overwhelm with obloquy, and where that was silent the imagination of the writer was not slow in filling up the void, and in supplying materials which were characterized by all the venom and rancour that the most ruthless hatred could suggest."

In its pages Leicester is depicted as an inhuman monster. He is accused of attempting to gather in his hands the reins of government, by filling all offices of trust about the Queen with his friends. He is full of "dissimulation, hypocrisy, adultery, falsehood, treachery, rebellion, treason, cowardice, atheism, and what not." He is said to be unscrupulous in his methods, and to have practised the

¹ Miscellaneous Works of Sir Philip Sidney, 1893, p. 38.

Italian art of poisoning upon many who stood between him and his ambitions.

It is in this book that the tragic story of the death of his wife, Amy Robsart, was first related and the Earl charged with her murder—a crime that the generally accepted opinion of the time attributed to him. Ashmole in his "Antiquities of Berkshire" states that "when Dr. Babington, the Earl's chaplain, did preach the funeral sermon, he tript once or twice in his speech, by recommending to their memories that virtuous lady so pitifully *murdered*, instead of saying pitifully slain." The event is also alluded to in the play, "The Yorkshire Tragedy," 1608, where a husband kills his wife by throwing her downstairs, and says

"The surest way to charm a woman's tongue
Is, break her neck—a politician did it."

An indignant answer to the "Commonwealth" was penned by Leicester's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney. It is characteristic of the writer and his times that he does not attempt to answer any of the charges

made against his uncle, but confines himself to the vindication of the lineage of his maternal ancestors!

The authorship of the work has never been settled. At the time of publication, and for some years afterwards, it was attributed to Robert Parsons, the Jesuit Missionary and controversialist, so much so that it was colloquially termed by his contemporaries, "Father Parsons' Greencoat." This was in allusion to the somewhat unusual colour of the binding and edges of the book. It is interesting to note that one of the two copies preserved in the British Museum, still retains the colour upon its edges. The second copy (the Grenville) has, however, been recently rebound, and *mirabile dictu*, the edges have been carefully gilt, and this distinctive feature of the work destroyed.

Walpole wrote that¹ "It was pretended that [Lord Burleigh] furnished the hints for that composition [Leicester's Commonwealth] to Parsons the Jesuit. This assertion was never proved: it ought

¹ Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, p. 65, vol. ii., 1806.

to be before it deserves any credit. Leicester was a bad man, but would that justify Cecil in employing one of his mistress's bitterest enemies to write against one of her ministers?"

A letter has been preserved in the manuscript collections of William Cole, now in the British Museum, in which the authorship of the book is discussed. It is addressed to the Rev. Dr. Mosse, at Gray's Inn, and signed C. A. Internal evidence is adduced to prove that Parsons could not have written the work, and Dr. Mosse notes upon the back of the letter that

"Parsons . . . many years after the death of L[eicester] denies himselfe to be author of it. . . . In short the author is very uncertain, and for any thing that appears in it, it may as well be a Protestant's, as a Papist's. I sh^d rather think it the work of some subtle courtier, who, for safety got it printed abroad, and sent into England under the name of Parsons."

The bibliography of the book is short and simple. As has already been stated, it was first printed in 1584, in a small octavo of 202 pages. A modern type facsimile of the title is given on the next page.

THE
COPIE OF A
LETER, VVRYTEN BY A
MASTER OF ARTE OF CAMBRIGE,
TO HIS FRIEND IN LONDON, CON-
cerning some talke past of late betveen tvvovvor-
shipful and graue men, about the present state, and
some procedinges of the Erle of Leycefter and
his friendes in England.

CONCEYVED, SPOKEN
*and publyshed vvyth most earnest protes-
tation of al duetyful good vvyl and affe-
ction, tovvardes her most excellent Ma.
and the Realm, for vvwhose good onely it is
made common to many.*

Iob. Cap. 20. Verf. 27.

Reuelabunt coeli iniquitatem eius, & terra confurget
aduerfus eum.

The heauens shal reueile the vvicked mans iniqui-
tie, and the earth shal stand vp to beare vvitness
agaynst hym.

ANNO M. D. LXXXIIII.

NOTE.—There is an ornamental border around the title and
the date, in the original.

The book was not reprinted until 1641, when one edition in quarto and two in small octavo were printed. It is now impossible to say why this sudden rush of popularity occurred during that stormy year, but the reprint excited the animosity of the Government, and an attempt was made to suppress the work. There has been preserved in the Public Record Office, a letter to the Wardens of the Company of Stationers, dated October 13, 1641, in which the writer, Edward Nicholas, states:—

“I hear there is now printing at one Dawson’s, a printer in Thames Street, a book called Leicester’s Commonwealth, which I am told is very scandalous to divers of the Lord’s ancestors, and a book unfit to be divulged. . . . I pray give order forthwith to stay the printing or dispersing of any of those books until the Lords of Parliament or the Lords of the Council shall meet.”

The small octavo edition of 1641 was twice issued, the first issue consisting of 194 pages, and has the first word spelt “Leycesters.” For the second issue a new title-page was printed and the first word is spelt “Leicesters,” and the sentence “whereunto is

added Leicester's Ghost" is inserted. The poem "Leicester's Ghost" is placed at the end of the "Commonwealth," and is separately paged from 1 to 34. A quarto edition of the poem was also printed in 1641 and is occasionally found bound up with the quarto editions of the "Commonwealth."

The work was reprinted by Dr. Drake in 1706 in an octavo volume, and a second edition was issued during the same year. The editor ignored the issues of 1641 and states that he printed from a manuscript copy. The title under which he issued the work was "Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester." A third edition was issued in 1708 with the title "The perfect picture of a Favourite," and the same book was re-issued dated 1721.

The edition here reprinted is the quarto of 1641, which appears to be the most correct and agrees with many of the manuscripts.

LEYCESTERS

Common-wealth:

CONCEIVED, SPO-
KEN AND PUBLI-
SHED WITH MOST EAR-

nest protestation of all Du-
tifull good will and affection
towards this Realm, for whose
good onely, it is made com-
mon to many.

Job the 20. verſe the 27.

*The Heavens ſhall reveale his iniquity, and the
Earth ſhall riſe up againſt him.*



Printed 1641.

The Epistle Directory ;

To M. G. M.

In Gracious Street in London.

DEARE and loving friend, I received about tenne dayes
agone your letter of the 9, of this present : wherein
you demand and sollicite againe the thing, that I so flatly
denied you, at my late being in your chamber : I meane, to
put in writing the relation which then I made unto you, of
the speech had this last Christmas in my presence, betweene
my right worshipfull good friend and patron, and his guest
the ould Lawyer, of some matters in our state and country.
And for that you presse mee very seriously at this instant,
both by request and many reasons, to yeeld to your desire
herein, and not onely this, but also to give my consent for
the publishing of the same, by such secret meanes as you
assure mee you can there find out : I have thought good to
confer the whole matter with the parties themselves, whom
principally it concerneth (who at the receipt of your letter
were not farre from mee :) And albeit at the first, I found
them averse and nothing inclined to grant your demand :

yet after upon consideration of your reasons, and assurance of secrecie : (especially for that there is nothing in the same contained, repugnant to charity or to our bounden duty toward our most gracious Princes or Countrey, but rather for the special good of them both, and for the forewarning of some dangers imminent to the same) they have referred over the matter to mee, yet with this Proviso, that they will know nothing, nor yet yeeld consent to the publishing hereof, for feare of some future flourish of the ragged Staffe to come hereafter about their eares, if their names should breake forth: which (I trust) you will provide, shall never happen, both for their security, and for your owne. And with this I will end, assuring you that within these five or six dayes, you shall receive the whole in writing by an other way and secret meanes, neither shall the bearer suspect what hee carrieth : whereof also I thought good to premonish you. And this shall suffice for this time.

The Preface of the Conference.

NOT long before the last Christmasse, I was requested by a letter from a very worshipfull and grave Gentleman, whose sonne was then my pupill in *Cambridge*, to repaire with my said Scholar to a certaine house of his neare *London*, and there to passe over the Holy-dayes in his company : for that it was determined that in *Hillary* tearme following, his said sonne should bee placed in some Inne of Chancery, to follow the study of the Common-law, and so to leave the Vniversity. This request was gratefull unto mee in respect of the time, as also of the matter, but especially of the company. For that, as I love much the yong Gentleman, my pupile, for his towardlines in religion, learning, and vertue : so much more I doe reverence his Father, for the riper possession of the same ornaments, and for his great wisdom, experience, and grave judgement in affaires of the World that doe occurre : but namely touching our owne Countrey, wherein truly I doe not remember to have heard any man in my life, discourse more substantially, indifferently, and with lesse passion, more love and fidelity,

Scholar.

The occasion
of this conference and
meeting.

then I have heard him : Which was the cause that I tooke singular delight to be in his company, and refused no occasion to enjoy the same. Which also hee perceiving, dealt more openly and confidently with mee, then with many other of his friends, as by the relation following may well appeare.

The persons
and place of
this conference.

When I came to the foresaid House by *London*, I found there among other friends, an ancient man that professed the law, and was come from *London* to keepe his Christmasse in that place, with whom at divers former times I had beene well acquainted, for that hee haunted much the company of the said Gentleman my friend, and was much trusted and used by him in matters of his profession, and not a little beloved also for his good conversation, notwithstanding some difference in religion betweene us. For albeit, this Lawyer was inclined to bee a Papist, yet was it with such moderation and reservation of his duty towards his Prince and Countrey and proceedings of the same : as hee seemed alwayes to give full satisfaction in this point to us that were of contrary opinion.

A temperate
Papist.

Neither did hee let to protest often times with great affection, that as hee had many friends and kinsfolke of contrary religion to himselfe : so did hee love them never the lesse for their different conscience, but leaving that to God, was desirous to doe them any friendship

or service that hee could, with all affection, zeale, and fidelity. Neither was hee wilfull or obstinate in his opinion, and much lesse reprochfull in speech (as many of them bee) but was content to heare whatsoever wee should say to the contrary (as often wee did :) and to reade any booke also that wee delivered him, for his instruction.

Which temperate behaviour, induced this Gentleman and mee, to affect the more his company, and to discourse as freely with him in all occurrents, as if hee had beene of our owne religion.

The Entrance to the Matter.

ONE day then of the Christmasse, we three retiring our selves after dinner, into a large Gallery, for our recreation, (as often we were accustomed to doe, when other went to cards and other pastimes :) this Lawyer by chance had in his hand a little booke, then newly set forth, containing *A defence of the publique justice done of late in England, upon divers Priests and other Papistes for treason*: Which booke, the Lawyer had read to himselfe a little before, and was now putting it up into his pocket; But the Gentleman my friend, who had read over the same once or twice in my company before, would needs take the same into his hand againe, and asked the Lawyer his judgement upon the booke. The Booke of justice.

The Lawyer answered: That it was not evill Lawyer. penned in his opinion to prove the guiltines of some persons therein named in particular, as also to perswade in generall, that the Papistes both abroad and at home, who meddle so earnestly with defence and increase of their religion (for these are not all, said he) doe consequently wish and labour some change in the state:

but yet whether so farre forth, and in so deepe a degree of proper treason, as here in this booke both in generall and particular is presumed and inforced, that (quoth hee) is somewhat hard (I weene) for you or mee (in respect of some other difference betweene us) to judge or discerne with indifferency.

Gentleman.

Nay truly said the Gentleman, for my part I thinke not so, for that reason is reason in what religion soever. And for my selfe, I may protest, that I beare the honest Papist (if there bee any) no malice for his deceived conscience, whereof among others, your selfe can bee a witnesse : mary his Practizes against the state, I cannot in any wise digest : and much lesse may the Common-wealth beare the same (whereof wee all depend,) being a sinne of all other, the most heinous, the least pardonable. And therefore seeing in this, you grant the Papist both in generall abroad, and at home ; and in particular such as are condemned, executed and named in this booke to bee guilty : how can you insinuate (as you doe) that there is more presumed or enforced upon them by this booke, then there is just cause so to doe.

The Papists
practizes
against the
state.

Lawyer.

Good Sir, said the other, I stand not here to examine the doings of my superiours, or to defend the guilty, but wish hartily rather their punishment that have deserved the same. Onely this I say, for explica-

tion of my former speech : that men of a different religion from the state wherein they live, may bee said to deale against the same state in two sorts : the one, by dealing for the increase of their said different religion, which is alwayes either directly, or indirectly against the state. (Directly) when the said religion containeth any point or article directly impugning the said state, (as perhaps you will say that the *Roman Religion* doth against the present state of *England* in the point of Supremacy :) and (Indirectly) for that every different religion divideth in a sort and draweth from the state, in that there is no man who in his heart would not wish to have the chiefe Governour and state to bee of his religion, if hee could : and consequently misliketh the other in respect of that : and in this kind, not onely those whom you call busie Papists in *England*, but also those whom we call hote Puritans among you, (whose difference from the state especially in matters of government is very well knowne,) may bee called all traytors, in mine opinion : for that every one of these in deed, doe labour indirectly, (if not more) against the state, in how much soever each one endeavoureth to increase his part or faction that desireth a Governour of his owne religion.

Two sorts
of dealing
against the
state.

Directly.

Indirectly.

And in this case also, are the Protestants in *France* and *Flanders* under Catholique Princes : the Calvinists

The state of
all Subjects,
in a state of
different re-
ligion.

(as they are called;) under the Duke of *Saxony*, who is a Lutheran: the Lutherans under *Casimere*, that favoereth Calvinists: the Grecians and other Christians under the Emperour of *Constantinople*, under the *Sophy*, under the great Chame of *Tartary*, and under other Princes that agree not with them in religion. All which Subjects doe wish (no doubt) in their hearts, that they had a Prince and state of their owne religion, in stead of that which now governeth them: and consequently in this first sense, they may bee called all traytors, and every act they doe for advancement of their said different religion (dividing betweene the state and them) tendeth to treason: which their Princes supposing, doe sometimes make divers of their acts treasonable or punishable for treason. But yet so long as they breake not forth unto the second kind of treason which containeth some actuall attempt or treaty against the life of the Prince, or state, by rebellion or otherwise: wee doe not properly condemne them for traytors, though they doe some acts of their religion made treason by the Prince his lawes, who is of a different faith.

The second
kind of trea-
son.

The applica-
tion of the
former ex-
ample.

And so to apply this to my purpose: I thinke, Sir, in good sooth, that in the first kind of treason, as well the zealous Papist, as also the Puritans in *England*, may well bee called and proved traytors: but in the second sort (whereof wee speake properly at this time)

it cannot bee so precisely answered, for that there may bee both guilty and guiltles in each religion. And as I cannot excuse all Puritans in this point: so you cannot condemne all Papists, as long as you take mee and some other to bee as wee are.

Gentleman.

I grant your distinction of treasons to bee true, (said the Gentleman,) as also your application thereof to the Papists and Puritans (as you call them,) not to want reason, if there bee any of them that mislike the present state (as perhaps there bee :) all bee it for my part, I thinke these two kinds of treasons, which you have put downe, bee rather divers degrees then divers kinds: wherein I will refer mee to the judgement of our *Cambridge* friend here present, whose skill is more in logicall distinctions. But yet my reason is this, that indeed the one is but a step or degree to the other, not differing in nature, but rather in time, ability or opportunity. For if (as in your former examples you have shewed) the Grecians under the Turke, and other Christians under other Princes of a different religion, and as also the Papists and Puritans (as you terme them) in *England* (for now this word shall passe betweene us for distinction sake,) have such alienation of mind from their present regiment, and doe covet so much a governour and state of their owne religion: then no doubt but they are also resolved to employ

Two degrees
of treason.

their forces for accomplishing and bringing to passe their desires, if they had oportunity: and so being now in the first degree or kind of treason, doe want but occasion or ability, to breake into the second.

Lawyer.

True Sir, said the Lawyer, if there bee no other cause or circumstance that may with hold them.

Gentleman.

And what cause or circumstance may stay them I pray you (said the Gentleman) when they shall have ability and oportunity to doe a thing which they so much desire?

Lawyer.

Divers causes (quoth the Lawyer) but especially and above all other (if it bee at home in their owne Country,) the feare of servitude under forraine nations, may restraints them from such attempts: As wee see in *Germany* that both Catholiques and Protestants would joyne together, against any stranger that should offer danger to their liberty. And so they did against *Charles* the fifth. And in *France* not long agoe, albeit the Protestants were up in armes against their King, and could have beene content, by the helpe of us in *England*, to have put him downe, and placed an other of their owne religion: yet when they saw us once seized of New-haven, and so, like to proceed to the recovery of some part of our states on that side the Sea, they quickly joyned with their owne Catholiques againe to expell us.

France.

In *Flanders* likewise, though Monsieur were called *Flanders*. thither by the Protestans, especially for defence of their religion, against the *Spaniard*: yet wee see how dainty divers chiefe Protestants of *Antwerp*, *Gaunt*, and *Bruges* were, in admitting him, and how quick in expelling, so soone as hee put them in the least feare of subjection to the *French*.

And as for *Portugall*, I have heard some of the *Portugall*. chieftest Catholiques among them say, in this late contention about their Kingdome: that rather then they would suffer the *Castilian* to come in upon them, they would bee content to admit whatsoever aids of a contrary religion to themselves, and to adventure whatsoever alteration in religion or other inconvenience might befall them by that meanes, rather then endanger their subjection to their ambitious neighbour.

The like is reported in divers histories of the Grecians at this day, who doe hate so much the name and dominion of the Latines: as they had rather to endure all the miseries which dayly they suffer under the Turke for their religion and otherwise: then by calling for aid from the West to hazard their subjection to the said Latines. So that by these examples you see, that feare and horreur of externall subjection may stay men in all states, and consequently also both Papists and Puritans in the state of *England*, from

The old hatred of East Grecians towards the West Latins.

passing to the second kind or degeee of treason, albeit they were never so deepe in the first, and had both ability, time, will, and oportunity for the other.

Scholar.

Here I presumed to interrupt their Speech, and said: that this seemed to mee most cleare, and that now I understood what the Lawyer meant before, when hee affirmed, that albeit the most part of Papists in generall might bee said to deal against the state of *England* at this day, in that they deale so earnestly for the maintenance and increase of their religion, and so to incurre some kind of treason: yet (perhaps) not so far-forth nor in so deepe a degree, of proper treason as in this booke is presumed or inforced: though for my part (said I) I doe not see that the booke presumeth or inforceth all Papists in generall to bee properly traytors, but onely such as in particular are therein named, or that are by law attainted, condemned or executed: and what will you say (quoth I) to those in particular.

Not all Papists properly traytors.

Lawyer.

Surely (quoth hee) I must say of these, much after the manner which I spake before: that some here named in this booke are openly knowen to have beene in the second deegree or kind of treason: as *Westmerland*, *Norton*, *Sanders*, and the like. But divers others (namely the Priests and Seminaries that of late have suffered,) by so much as I could see delivered and pleaded at their arraingements, or heard protested by

The Priests and Seminaries that were executed.

them at their deaths, or gathered by reason and discourse of my selfe, (for that no forraine Prince or wise councellor would ever commit so great matters of state to such instruments :) I cannot (I say) but thinke, that to the wise of our state, that had the doing of this busines, the first degree of treason (wherein no doubt they were) was sufficient to dispatch and make them away : especially in such suspitious times as these are : to the end that being hanged for the first, they should never bee in danger to fall into the second, nor yet to draw other men to the same : which perhaps was most of all misdoubted.

After the Lawyer had spoken this, I held my peace, *Gentleman.* to heare what the Gentleman would answer : who walked up and downe, two whole turnes in the Gallery, without yeelding any word againe : and then staying upon the sudden, cast his eyes sadly upon us both, and said ;

My Masters, how so ever this bee, which indeed appertaineth not to us to judge or discusse, but rather to perswade our selves, that the state hath reason to doe as it doth, and that it must often times, as well prevent inconveniences, as remedy the same when they are happened : yet for my owne part I must confesse unto you, that upon some considerations which use to come unto my mind, I take no small grieve of these

The consi-
derations.

differences among us (which you terme of divers and different religions) for which wee are driven of necessity, to use Discipline towards divers, who possibly otherwise would bee no great malefactours. I know the cause of this difference is grounded upon a principle not easie to cure, which is the judgement and conscience of a man, whereunto obeieth at length his will and affection, whatsoever for a time hee may otherwise dissemble outwardly. I remember your speech before of the doubtfull and dangerous inclination of such as live discontented in a state of a different religion, especially, when either indeed, or in their owne conceipte, they are hardly dealt withall, and where every mans particular punishment, is taken to reach to the cause of the whole.

Misery mo-
veth mercy.

I am not ignorant how that misery procureth amity, and the opinion of calamity, moveth affection of mercy and compassion, even towards the wicked: the better fortune alwayes is subject to envy, and hee that suffereth, is thought to have the better cause, my experience of the divers raignes and proceedings of King *Edward*, *Queene Mary*, and of this our most gracious soveraigne hath taught mee not a little, touching the sequell of these affaires. And finally, (my good friends) I must tell you plaine (quoth hee: and this hee spake with great asseveration) that I could wish with all my

A good wish.

heart, that either these differences were not among us at all, or els that they were so temperatly on all parts pursued: as the Common-state of our Countrey, the blessed raigne of her Majesty, and the common cause of true religion, were not endangered thereby. But now: and there hee brake of, and turned aside.

The Lawyer seeing him hold his peace and depart, hee stepped after him, and taking him by the gowne said merrily: Sir, all men are not of your complexion, some are of quicker and more stirring Spirits, and doe love to fish in water that is troubled, for that they doe participate the Black-moores humour, that dwell in *Guinea* (whereof I suppose you have heard and seene also some in this Land) whose exercise at home is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch, and sell the other, and alwayes the stronger to make money of the weaker for the time. But now if in *England* we should live in peace and unity of the state, as they doe in *Germany*, notwithstanding their differences of Religion, and that the one should not pray upon the other: then should the great Fawcons for the Field (I meane the favorites of the time) faile whereon to feed, which were an inconvenience as you know.

Lawyer.

The nature
and practize
of the *Guineans*.

Truly Sir, said the Gentleman, I thinke you rove nearer the marke than you weene: for if I bee not deceived the very ground of much of these broiles

Gentleman.

The Tyrant
of English
state.

Three differ-
ences of re-
ligion in
England.

whereof wee talke, is but a very pray: not, in the minds of the Prince or state (whose intentions no doubt bee most just and holy) but in the greedy imagination and subtile concept of him, who at this present in respect of our sinnes, is permitted by God, to tyrannize both Prince and state: and being himselfe of no religion, feedeth notwithstanding upon our differences in religion, to the fatting of himselfe and ruine of the Realme. For whereas by the common distinction now received in speech, there are three notable differences of religion in the Land, the two extreames, whereof are the Papist and the Puritan, and the religious Protestant obtaining the meane: this fellow being of neither, maketh his gaine of all: [and as hee seeketh a Kingdome by the one extreame, and spoile by the other: so hee useth the authority of the third, to compasse the first two, and the counter-mine of each one, to the overthrow of all three.

Scholar.

To this I answered: In good sooth Sir, I see now where you are: you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary talke and conference in the university: for I know that you meane my L. of *Leicester*, who is the subject of all pleasant discourses at this day throughout the Realme.

The Earl of
Leycester.

Gentleman.

Not so pleasant as pittifull, answered the Gentleman, if all matters and circumstances were well con-

sidered, except any man take pleasure to jeast at our owne miseries, which are like to bee greater by his iniquity (if God avert it not) then by all the wickednesse of *England* besides: hee being the man that by all probability, is like to bee the bane and fatall destiny of our state, with the eversion of true religion, whereof by indirec̄t meanes, hee is the greatest enemy that the Land doth nourish.

Now verily (quoth the Lawyer) if you say thus *Lawyer.* much for the Protestants opinion of him, what shall I say for his merits towards the Papists? who for as much as I can perceive, doe take themselves little beholding unto him, albeit for his gaine hee was some yeares their secret friend against you: untill by his friends hee was perswaded, and chiefly by the L. *North* *The L. Norths policy.* by way of policy, as the said L. bosteth in hope, of greater gaine, to step over to the Puritans, against us both, whom notwithstanding it is probable, that hee loveth as much, as hee doth the rest.

You know the Beares love, said the Gentleman, *Gentleman.* which is all for his owne paunch, and so this Beare-whelp, turneth all to his owne commodity, and for greedines thereof, will overturne all if he bee not stopped or mouzeled in time.

And surely unto mee it is a strange speculation, *A strange speculation.* whereof I cannot pick out the reason (but onely that I

doe attribute it to Gods punishment for our sinnes) than in so wise and vigilant a state as ours is, and in a Countrey so well acquainted and beaten with such dangers: a man of such a Spirit as hee is knowne to bee, of so extreame ambition, pride, falshood and trechery: so borne, so bred up, so nooseled in treason from his infancy, descended of a tribe of traytors, and fleshed in conspiracy against the Royall blood of King *Henries* children in his tender yeares, and exercised ever since in driftes against the same, by the blood and ruine of divers others: a man so well knownen to beare secret malice against her Majesty, for causes irreconcilable, and most deadly rancour against the best and wisest Councillours of her highnesse: that such a one (I say so hatefull) to God and man, and so markeable to the simplest subject of this Land by the publique insignes of his tyrannous purpose, should bee suffered so many yeares without check, to aspire to tyranny by most manifest wayes, and to possesse himselfe (as now hee hath done) of Court, Councill, and Countrey, without controlement: so that nothing wanteth to him but onely his pleasure, and the day already conceived in his mind to dispose as hee list, both of Prince, Crowne, Realme, and Religion.

Scholar.

It is much truly (quoth I) that you say, and it minstreth not a little marvaile unto many, whereof

your worship is not the first, nor yet the tenth person of accompt which I have heard discourse and complaine. But what shall wee say hereunto? there is no man that ascribeth not this unto the singular benignity and most bountifull good nature of her Majesty who measuring other men by her owne Heroycll and Princely sincerity: cannot easily suspect a man so much bounden to her grace, as hee is, nor remove her confidence from the place, where shee hath heaped so infinite benefites.

The Queens
Majesties
most excel-
lent good
nature.

No doubt (said the Gentleman) but this gracious and sweet disposition of her Majesty is the true originall cause thereof: which Princely disposition, as in her highnesse it deserveth all rare commendation, so lieth the same open to many dangers often times, when so benigne a nature meeteth with ingrate and ambitious persons: which observation perhaps, caused her Majesties most noble Grandfather and Father (two renowned wise Princes) to withdraw some time upon the sudden, their great favour from certaine Subjects of high estate. And her Majesty may easily use her owne excellent wisdom and memory, to recall to mind the manifold examples of perillous happes fallen to divers Princes, by to much confidence in obliged proditours: with whom the name of a Kingdome, and one houres raigne, weyeth more, then all the duty,

Gentleman.

Feares that
subjects have
of my L. of
Leycester.

obligation, honesty, or nature in the World. Would God her Majesty could see the continuall feares that bee in her faithfull Subjects hearts, whiles that man is about her noble person, so well able and likely (if the Lord avert it not) to bee the calamity, of her Princely bloud and name.

Sir Francis
Walsingham.

The talke will never out of many mouths and minds, that divers ancient men of this Realme, and once a wise Gentleman now a Councillour, had with a certaine friend of his, concerning the presage and deepe impression, which her Majesties Father had of the House of Sir *Iohn Dudley*, to bee the ruine in time of his Majesties Royall house and bloud, which thing was like to have beene fulfilled soone after (as all the World knoweth) upon the death of King *Edward* by the said *Dudley* this mans Father: who at one blow, procured to dispatch from a possession of the Crown, all three children of the said noble King. And yet in the midst of those bloody practizes against her Majesty that now is and her sister (wherein also this fellowes hand was so farre, as for his age hee could thrust the same,) within sixteene dayes before King *Edwards* death (hee knowing belike that the King should die) wrote most flattering letters to the Lady *Mary* (as I have heard by them who then were with her) promising all loyalty and true service to her, after the

Deepe dissimulation.

descease of her brother, with no lesse painted words, then this man now doth use to *Queene Elizabeth*.

So dealt hee then with the most deare children of his good King and Master, by whom hee had beene no lesse exalted and trusted, then this man is by her Majesty. And so deeply dissembled hee then when hee had in hand the plot to destroy them both. And what then (alas) may not wee feare and doubt of this his sonne, who in outrageous ambition and desire of raigne, is not inferiour to his Father, or to any other aspiring Spirit in the World, but farre more insolent, cruell, vindicative, expert, potent, subtile, fine, and fox-like then ever hee was? I like well the good motion propounded by the foresaid Gentleman, to his friend at the same time, and doe assure my selfe it would bee most pleasant to the Realme, and profitable to her Majesty to wit, that this mans actions might bee called publicquely to triall, and liberty given to good subjects, to say what they knew against the same, as it was permitted in the first yeare of King *Henry* the eight against his Grandfather, and in the first of *Queene Mary* against his Father : and then I would not doubt, but if these two his Ancestors were found worthy to leese their heads for treason : this man would not bee found unworthy to make the third in kindred, whose treacheries doe farre surpasse them both.

*Sir Francis
Walsingham.*

*Edmund
Dudley.
Robert Dudley.*

Lawyer.

After the Gentleman had said this, the Lawyer stood still, somewhat smiling to himselfe, and looking round about him, as though hee had beene halfe afeard, and then said. My masters, doe you read over or study the statutes that come forth? have you not heard of the *proviso* made in the last Parliament for punishment of those who speake so broad of such men as my L. of *Leycester* is?

Gentleman.

The Law against talking

Yes, said the Gentleman, I have heard how that my L. of *Leycester* was very carefull and diligent at that time to have such a Law to passe against talkers: hoping (belike) that his L. under that generall restraint might lie the more quietly in harbour from the tempest of mens tongues, which tatled busily at that time, of divers his Lordship's actions and affaires, which perhaps himselfe would have wished to passe with more secrecie. As of his discontentment and preparation to rebellion, upon Monsieurs first comming into the Land: of his disgrace and checks received in Court: of the fresh death of the noble Earle of *Essex*: and of this mans hasty snatching up of the widdow, whom hee sent up and downe the Countrey from house to house by privy wayes, thereby to avoid the sight and knowledge of the Queenes Majesty. And albeit hee had not onely used her at his good liking before, for satisfying of his owne lust, but also married and

remarried her for contentation of her friends : yet denied hee the same, by solemne oath to her Maiesty and received the holy Communion thereupon (so good a conscience hee hath) and consequently threatned most sharp revenge towards all subjects which should dare to speake thereof : and so for the concealing both of this and other his doings, which hee desired not to have publike, no marvaile though his Lordship were so diligent a procurer of that law for silence.

Actions of
Leycester
whereof hee
would have
no speech.

Indeed (said I) it is very probable that his Lordship was in great distresse about that time, when Monsieurs matters were in hand, and that hee did many things and purposed more, whereof hee desired lesse speech among the people, especially afterwards, when his said designements tooke not place. I was my selfe that yeare not farre from *Warwicke* when hee came thither from the Court a full *Mal-Content*, and when it was thought most certainly throughout the Realm, that hee would have taken armes soone after, if the marriage of her Majesty with Monsieur had gone forward. The thing in *Cambridge* and in all the Countrey as I rode, was in every man's mouth : and it was a wonder to see not onely the countenances, but also the behaviour, and to heare the bold speeches of all such as were of his faction.

Scholar.

My Lord himselfe had given out a little before at

*Leicester's pre-
paratives to
rebellion
upon Mon-
sieurs mar-
riage.*

Killingworth, that the matter would cost many broken heads before *Michelmasse* day next: and my Lord of *Warwick* had said openly at his table in *Greenewich*, Sir *Thomas Hennige* being by (if I bee not deceived,) that it was not to bee suffered (I meane the marriage) which words of his once comming abroad (albeit mis-liked by his owne Lady then also present) every Serving-man and Common-companion, tooke then up in defence of his Lordships part against the Queenes Majesty. Such running there was, such sending and posting about the Realme, such amplification of the powers and forces of *Casimere* and other Princes, ready, (as was affirmed) to present themselves unto his aid, for defence of the Realme and Religion against strangers: (for that was holden to bee his cause) such numbring of parties and complices within the Realme, (whereof himselfe shewed the Catalogue to some of his friends for their comfort) such debasing of them that favoured the marriage (especially two or three Councillors by name, who were said to bee the cause of all, and for that were appointed out to bee sharply punished to the terrour of all others :) such letters were written and intercepted of purpose, importing great powers to bee ready, and so many other things done and designed, tending all to manifest and open warre: as I began heartily to be afeard, and wished

*To Sir Tho.
Layton.*

L. Treasurer.
L. Chamber-
laine.
M. Comp-
troller.

my selfe backe at *Cambridge* againe, hoping that being there, my Scholars gowne should excuse mee from necessity of fighting, or if not, I was resolved (by my Lords good leave) to follow *Aristotle*, who preferreth alway the Lyon before the Beare: assuring my selfe withall, that his Lordship should have no better succeſſe in this (if it came to triall) then his Father had in as bad a cause, and so much the more for that I was privy to the minds of some of his friends, who meant to have deceived him, if the matter had broken out. And amongst other, there was a certaine Vice-president in the World, who being left in the roome and absence of an other, to procure friends: said in a place secretly not farre from *Ludlow*, that if the matter came to blowes, hee would follow his Mistresse, and leave his Master in the briars.

Sir Thomas
Hibbot.

Marry Sir (quoth the Gentleman) and I trow many more would have followed that example. For albeit I know, that the Papists were most named and misdoubted of his part, in that cause, for their open inclination towards Monsieur, and consequently for greater discredit of the thing it selfe, it was given out every where by this Champion of religion, that her Majesties cause was the Papists cause, (even as his Father had done in the like enterprise before him, though all upon dissimulation, as appeared at his

Gentleman.

Leycesters Fa-
ther a tray-
terous Pa-
pist.

death, where hee professed himselfe an earnest Papist:) yet was there no man so simple in the Realme, which discried not this Vizard at the first: neither yet any good subject (as I suppose) who seeing her Majesty on the one part, would not have taken against the other part, what so ever hee had beene. And much more the thing it selfe in controversie (I meane the marriage of her Royall Majesty with the brother and heire apparent of *France*;) being taken and judged by the best, wisest and faithfulest Protestants of the Realme, to bee both honourable, convenient, profitable and needfull. Whereby onely, as by a most soveraigne, and present remedy, all our maladies both abroad and at home, had at once beene cured: all forraine enemies, and domesticall conspirators, all differences, all dangers, all feares had ceased together: *France* had beene ours most assured: *Spain* would not a little have trembled: *Scotland* had beene quiet: our competitors in *England* would have quaked: and for the Pope hee might have put up his pipes. Our differences in religion at home, had beene either lesse, or no greater then now they are, for that Monsieur being but a moderate Papist, and nothing vehement in his opinions, was content with very reasonable conditions, for himselfe and his strangers onely in use of their conscience not unlikely (truly) but that in time hee might by

The honour
and commo-
dities by the
marriage
with *France*.

Gods grace, and by the great wisdom and virtue of her Majesty have been brought also to embrace the Gospell, as King *Ethelbert* an heathen was by noble Queene *Bertha* his wife, the first Christian of our *English* Princes.

Ethelbert King
of *Kent*, converted *An-*
dom. 603.

Vnto all which felicity, if the Lord in mercy should have added also some issue of there royall bodies, (as was not impossible, when first this noble match was moved,) wee then (doubtles) had beene the most fortunate people under heaven, and might have beene (perhaps) the meane to have restored the Gospell throughout all *Europe* besides, as our Brethren of *France* well considered and hoped.

Of all which singular benefits both present and to come, both, in *Re* and *Spe*, this Tyrant for his owne private lucre (fearing lest hereby his ambition might be restrained, and his treachery revealed) hath bereaved the Realme, and done what in him lieth besides, to alienate for ever and make our mortall enemy this great Prince, who sought the love of her Majesty with so much honour and confidence as never Prince the like, putting twice his owne person to jeopardy of the Sea, and to the perill of his malicious enuiours here in *England*, for her Majesties sake.

When you speake of Monsieur (said the Lawyer) *Lawyer*.
I cannot but greatly bee moved, both for these

Tolleration in
Religion, with
union in de-
fence of our
Country.

considerations well touched by you, as also for some other : especially one wherein (perhaps) you will thinke mee partiall, but truly I am not : for that I speake it onely in respect of the quiet and good of my Countrey, and that is, that by Monsieurs match with our noble Princesse, besides the hope of issue (which was the principall) there wanted not also probability, that some union or little tolleration in religion, betweene you and us, might have beene procured in this state, as wee see that in some other Countries is admitted to their great good. Which thing (no doubt) would have cut of quite all dangers and dealings from forraine Princes, and would have stopped many devises and plots within the Realme : whereas now by this breach with *France*, wee stand alone as mee seemeth without any great unition or friendship abroad, and our differences at home grow more vehement and sharp then ever before. Vpon which two heads, as also upon infinit other causes, purposes, drifts and pretences, there doe ensue dayly more deepe, dangerous and desperate practizes, every man using either the commodity or necessity of the time and state for his owne purpose, especially, now when all men presume that her Majesty (by the continuall thwartings which have been used against all her marriage) is not like to leave unto the Realme, that pretious Jewell so much and

long desired of all English hearts, I meane the Royall heires of her owne body.

Thwartings call you the defeating of all her Majesties most honourable offers of marriage? (said the other) truly in my opinion you should have used an other word to expresse the nature of so wicked a fact: whereby alone, if their were no other, this unfortunate man, hath done more hurt to his Commonwealth, then if hee had murdered many thousands of her subjects, or betrayed whole armies to the professed enemy. I can remember well my selfe, foure treatises to this purposes, undermined by his meanes; The first with the *Swethen* King: the second with the Archduke of *Austria*: the third with *Henry* King of *France* that now reigneth: and the fourth with the brother and heire of the said Kingdome. For I let passe many other secret motions made by great Potentates to her Majesty for the same purpose, but these foure are openly knowen, and therefore I name them. Which foure are as well knowen to have beene all disturbed by this *Dawes*, as they were earnestly pursued by the other.

Gentleman.

Divers marriages of her Ma. defeated.

And for the first three Suters, hee drove them away, by protesting and swearing that himselfe was contracted unto her Majesty, whereof her highnesse was sufficiently advertised by Cardinall *Chatilian* in the

Leycester devises to drive away all Suters from her Majesty.

first treaty for *France*, and the Cardinall soone after punished (as is thought) by this man with poison. But yet this speech hee gave out then, every where among his friends both strangers and other, that hee (forsooth) was assured to her Majesty and consequently that all other Princes must give over their sutes, for him. Whereunto notwithstanding, when the *Swethen* would hardly give eare, this man conferred with his Privado to make a most unseemely and disloyall prooffe thereof for the others satisfaction, which thing I am enforced by duty to passe over with silence, for honour to the parties who are touched therein: as also I am to conceale his said filthy Privado, though worthy otherwise for his dishonestly to bee displayed to the World: but my Lord himselfe, I am sure, doth well remember both the man and the matter. And albeit there was no wise man at that time who knowing my L. suspected not the false-hood, and his arrogant affirmation touching this contract with her Majesty, yet some both abroad and at home might doubt thereof perhaps: but now of late, by his known marriage with his Minion Dame *Lettice* of *Essex*, hee hath declared manifestly his owne most impudent and disloyall dealing with his soveraigne in this report.

Leycester convinced himselfe of impudency.

Lawyer.

For that report (quoth the Lawyer) I know that it was common and maintained by many, for divers

yeares: yet did the wiser sort make no accompt thereof, seeing it came only from himselfe, and in his owne behalfe. Neither was it credible, that her Majesty who refused so noble Knights and Princes as *Europe* hath not the like: would make choise of so meane a peere as *Robin Dudley* is, noble onely in two descents, and both of them stained with the Block, from which also himselfe, was pardoned but the other day, being condemned thereunto by law for his deserts, as appeareth yet in publike records. And for the widdow of *Essex*, I marvaile Sir (quoth hee) how you call her his wife, seeing the canon law standeth yet in force touching matters of marriage within the Realme.

The basenes
of *Leycesters*
ancestors.

Anno 1. R.
Mary.

Oh (said the Gentleman laughing) you meane for that hee procured the poisoning of her Husband, in his journey from *Ireland*. You must thinke that Doctor *Dale* will dispence in that matter, as hee did (at his Lordships appointment) with his *Italian* physitian Doctor *Iulio*, to have two wives at once: at the least wise the matter was permitted, and borne out by them both publicly (as all the World knoweth) and that against no lesse persons then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* himselfe, whose overthrow was principally wrought by this Tyrant for contrarying his will, in so beastly a demand. But for this controuersie whether the marriage bee good or no, I leave it to bee tried

Gentleman.

Doctor *Dale*.

Doctor *Iulio*.

The Arch-
bishops over-
throw for not
allowing two
wives to *Ley-*
cester his Phy-
sitian.

hereafter betweene my yong L. of *Denbighe*, and M. *Philip Sidney*, whom the same most concerneth. For that it is like to deprive him of a goodly inheritance if it take place, (as some will say that in no reason it can,) not onely in respect of the precedent adultery and murder betweene the parties: but also for that my L. was contracted, at least, to an other Lady before, that yet liveth, whereof M. *Edward Diar* and M. *Edmond Tilney* both Courtiers can bee witnesses, and consumated the same contract by generation of children. But this (as I said) must bee left to bee tried hereafter by them which shall have most interest in the case. Onely for the present I must advertise you, that you may not take hold so exactly of all my L. doings in Womens affaires, neither touching their marriages, neither yet their husbands.

The Lady
Sheffield now
Embassa-
desse in
France.

For first his Lordship hath a speciall fortune, that when hee desireth any womans favour, then what person so ever standeth in his way, hath the luck to die quickly for the finishing of his desire. As for example: when his Lordship was in full hope to marry her Majesty, and his owne wife stood in his light, as hee supposed: hee did but send her aside, to the house of his servant *Forster* of *Cumner* by *Oxford*, where shortly after shee had the chance to fall from a paire of staires, and so to breake her neck, but yet without hurting of

The death of
Leycesters first
Lady & wife.

her hood that stood upon her head. But Sir *Richard Varney* who by commandement remained with her that day alone, with one man onely, and had sent away perforce all her Servants from her, to a market two miles of, hee (I say) with his man can tell how shee died, which man being taken afterward for a felony in the marches of *Wales*, and offering to publish the manner of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison. And Sir *Richard* himselfe dying about the same time in *London*, cried pitiously, and blasphemed God, and said to a Gentleman of worship of mine acquaintance, not long before his death: that all the Divels in Hell did teare him in peeces. The wife also of *Bald Buttler* Kinsman to my L. gave out the whole fact a little before her death. But to returne unto my purpose, this was my Lords good fortune to have his wife die, at that time when it was like to turne most to his profit.

Long after this, hee fell in love with the Lady *Sheffield* whom I signified before, and then also had hee the same fortune to have her Husband die quickly with an extreame reume in his head (as it was given out;) but as other say, of an artificiall Catarre that stopped his breath. The like good chance had hee in the death of my Lord of *Essex* (as I have said before) and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose: for

Sir *Richard Varney*.

Bald Buttler.

The suspicious death of the Lord *Sheffield*.

when hee was comming home from *Ireland*, with intent to revenge himselfe upon my Lord of *Leycester*, for begetting his wife with child in his absence (the child was a daughter and brought up by the Lady *Shandoies*, *W. Knooles* his wife:) my Lord of *Ley* hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputie, as among other, a couple of the Earles owne servants, *Crompton* (if I misse not his name) yeoman of his bottels, and *Lloid* his Secretary entertained afterward by my Lord of *Leycester*. And so hee died in the way of an extreame Flux, caused by an Italian *Recipe*, as all his friends are well assured: the maker whereof was a Surgion (as is believed) that then was newly come to my Lord from *Italy*. A cunning man and sure in operation, with whom if the good Lady had beene sooner acquainted and used his helpe, shee should not have needed to have sitten so pensive at home and fearefull of her husbands former returne out of the same Countrey, but might have spared the yong child in her belly, which shee was enforced to make away (cruelly and unnaturally) for clearing the house against the good mans arrivall.

The poisoning of the Earle of *Essex*.

The shifting of a child in Dame *Lettice* belly.

The divers operation of poyson.

Neither must you marvaile though all these died in divers manners of outward diseases, for this is the excellency of the *Italian* art, for which this Surgion and *D. Iulio* were entertained so carefully, who can make a

man die, in what manner or shew of sicknesse you will; by whose instructions no doubt but his Lordship is now cunning, especially adding also to these the counsell of his Doctor *Bayly*, a man also not a little studied (as hee seemeth) in his art. For I heard him once my selfe in publique act in *Oxford* (and that in presence of my Lord of *Leycester* if I bee not deceived) maintaine, that poison might so bee tempered and given as it should not appeare presently, and yet should kill the party afterward at what time should bee appointed. Which argument belike pleased well his Lordship and therefore was chosen to bee discussed in his audience, if I bee not deceived of his being that day present. So though one die of a Flux, and an other of a Catarre, yet this importeth little to the matter, but sheweth rather the great cunning and skill of the Artificer.

Doctor *Bayly*
the yonger.

So Cardinall *Chatilian* (as I have said before,) having accused my Lord of *Leycester* to the Queenes Majesty, and after that, passing from *London* towards *France* about the marriage, died by the way at *Canterbury* of a burning Fever: and so proved Doctor *Baylies* assertion true, that poison may bee given to kill at a day.

Death of
Cardinall
Chatilian.

At this the Lawyer cast up his eyes to Heaven, and I stood somewhat musing and thinking of that which had beene spoken of the Earle of *Essex*, whose case indeed moved mee more then all the rest, for that hee

Scholar.

was a very noble Gentleman, a great Advancer of true Religion, a Patron to many Preachers and Students, and towards mee and some of my friends in particular, hee had beene in some things very beneficiall : and therefore I said that it grieved mee extreemely to heare or thinke of so unworthy a death contrived by such meanes to so worthy a Peere. And so much the more, for that it was my chance, to come to the understanding of divers particulars concerning that thing, both from one *Lea* an Irish-man, *Robin Honnies* and other, that were present at *Penteneis* the Marchants house in *Develing* upon the kay, where the Murder was committed. The matter was wrought especially by *Crompton* yeoman of the bottels, by the procurement of *Lloyd* as you have noted before, and there was poisoned at the same time and with the same cup (as given of curtesie by the Earle) one Mistresse *Ales Draykot* a goodly Gentlewoman, whom the Earle affectioned much, who departing thence towards her owne house, (which was 18 miles of, the foresaid *Lea* accompanying her, and wayting upon her,) shee began to fall sick very grievously upon the way, and continued with increase of paines and excessive torments, by vomiting, untill shee died, which was the Sunday before the Earles death, ensuing the Friday after, and when shee was dead, her body was swolne unto a monstrous

Lea.
Honnies.

Mistresse
Draykot poi-
soned with
the Earle of
Essex.

bignesse and deformity, whereof the good Earle hearing the day following, lamented the case greatly, and said in the presence of his Servants, Ah poore *Ales*, the cup was not prepared for thee, albeit it were thy hard destiny to tast thereof.

Yong *Honnies* also whose Father is Master of the children of her Majesties Chappell, being at that time Page to the said Earle, and accustomed to take the tast of his drinke (though since entertained also among other by my Lord of *Leycester* for better covering of matter) by his tast that hee then tooke of the compound cup, (though in very small quantity, as you know the fashion is :) yet was hee like to have lost his life, but escaped in the end, (being yong) with the losse onely of his haire : which the Earle perceiving, and taking compassion of the youth : called for a cup of drinke a little before his death, and drunk to *Honnies*, saying: I drinke to thee my *Robin*, and be not afeard, for this is a better cup of drinke then that, whereof thou tookest the tast when wee were both poisoned, and whereby thou hast lost thy haire and I must loose my life. This hath yong *Honnies* reported openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen of worship sithence his comming into *England*, and the foresaid *Lea* Irishman at his passage this way towards *France*, after hee had beene present at the forenamed Mis-

The Earle of
Essex speech
to his Page
Robin Honnies.

tesse *Draykots* death, with some other of the Earles Servants, have and doe most constantly report the same, where they may doe it without the terrour of my Lord of *Leycesters* revenge. Wherefore in this matter there is no doubt at all, though most extreame vile and intollerable indignity, that such a man should bee so openly murdered without punishment. What Noble-man within the Realme may bee safe if this bee suffered? or what worthy personage will adventure his life in her Majesties service if this shall bee his reward? But (Sir) I pray you pardon mee, for I am somewhat perhaps to vehement in the case of this my Patron and noble Peere of our Realme. And therefore I beseech you to goe forward in your talke whereas you left.

Gentleman.

I was recounting unto you others (said the Gentleman) made away by my Lord of *Leycester* with like art, and the next in order I thinke was Sir *Nicholas Throgmarton*, who was a man whom my Lord of *Leycester* used a great while (as all the World knoweth) to overthrow and crosse the doings of my Lord Treasurer then Sir *Will. Cicill*, a man specially misliked alwayes of *Leycester*, both in respect of his old Master the Duke of *Somerset*, as also for that his great wisdom, zeale and singular fidelity to the Realme, was like to hinder much this mans designements: wherefore understanding after a certaine time that these two Knights

Death of Sir
Nicholas
Throgmarton.

Sir *Will. Cicill* now L.
Treasurer.

were secretly made friends, and that Sir *Nicholas* was like to detect his doings (as hee imagined,) which might turne to some prejudice of his purposes: (having conceived also a secret grudge and griefe against him, for that hee had written to her Majesty at his being Embassadour in *France*, that hee heard reported at Duke *Memorances* table, that the Queene of *England* had a meaning to marry her Horse-keeper) hee invited the said Sir *Nicholas* to a Supper at his house in *London* and at Supper time departed to the Court, being called for (as hee said) upon the sudden by her Majesty, and so perforce would needs have Sir *Nicholas* to sit and occupie his Lordships place, and therein to bee served as hee was: and soone after by a surfeit their taken, hee died of a strange and incurable vomit. But the day before his death, hee declared to a deare friend of his, all the circumstance and cause of his disease, which hee affirmed plainely to bee of poison, given him in a Salat at Supper, inveying most earnestly against the Earles cruelty and bloudy disposition, affirming him to be the wickedest, most perilous, and perfidious man under heaven. But what availed this, when hee had now received the bait.

This then is to shew the mans good fortune, in seeing them dead, whom for causes hee would not have to live. And for his art of poisoning, it is such now

The poison-
ing of Sir
Nicholas in a
Salat.

The Lord
Chamber-
laine.

Monsieur
Simiers.

The poison-
ing of the
Lady *Lenox*.

and reacheth so farre, as hee holdeth all his foes in *England* and els where, as also a good many of his friends in feare thereof, and if it were knowen how many hee hath dispatched or assaulted that way, it would bee marvailous to the posterity. The late Earle of *Sussex* wanted not a scruple for many yeares before his death, of some dramme received that made him incurable. And unto that noble Gentleman Monsieur *Simiers*, it was discovered by great providence of God, that his life was to bee attempted by that art, and that not taking place (as it did not through his owne good circumspection,) it was concluded that the same should be assaulted by violence, whereof I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

It hath been told me also by some of the Servants of the late Lady *Lenox*, who was also of the bloud Royall by *Scotland* as all men know, and consequently little liked by *Leycester*: that a little before her death or sicknesse, my Lord tooke the paines to come and visit her with extraordinary kindnesse, at her house at *Hackney*, bestowing long discourses with her in private: but as soone as hee was departed, the good Ladie fell into such a Flux, as by no meanes could bee stayed so long as she had life in her body, whereupon both shee her selfe, and all such as were neare about her, and saw her disease and ending day, were fully of opinion,

that my Lord had procured her dispatch at his being there. Whereof let the Women that served her bee examined, as also *Fowler* that then had the chiefe doings in her affaires, and since hath beene entertained by my Lord of *Leycester*. *Mallet* also a stranger borne, that then was about her, a sober and zealous man in religion, and otherwise well qualified, can say somewhat in this point (as I thinke) if hee were demanded. So that this art and exercise of poisoning, is much more perfect with my Lord then praying and hee seemeth to take more pleasure therein.

Now for the second point, which I named, touching marriages and contracts with Women: you must not marvaile though his Lordship bee somewhat divers, variable and inconstant, with himselfe, for that according to his profit or his pleasure, and as his lust and liking shall vary (wherein by the judgement of all men, hee surpasseth, not onely *Sardanapalus* and *Nero*, but even *Heliogabalus* himselfe :) so his Lordship also changeth Wives and Minions, by killing the one, denying the other, using the third for a time, and hee fawning upon the fourth. And for this cause hee hath his tearmes and pretences (I warrant you) of Contracts, Precontracts, Postcontracts, Protracts, and Retracts: as for example: after hee had killed his first wife, and so broken that contract, then forsooth would hee needs

Leycesters
most variable
dealing with
Women in
contracts and
marriages.

Contracts.

Precontracts. make himselfe Husband to the Queenes Majesty, and so defeat all other Princes by vertue of his precontract. But after this, his lust compelling him to an other place, hee would needs make a postcontract with the Lady *Sheffield*, and so hee did, begetting two children upon her, the one a boy called *Robin Sheffield* now living, some time brought up at *Newington*, and the other a daughter, borne (as is knowen) at *Dudley* Castle.

Post-contracts. But yet after, his concupiscence changing againe (as it never stayeth) hee resolved to make a retract, of this postcontract, (though it were as surely done (as I have said) as Bed and Bible could make the same) and to

Retract. make a certaine new, protract, (which is a continuation of using her for a time) with the Widdow of *Essex*. But yet to stop the mouths of our criars, and to bury the Synagogue with some honour, (for these two wives

Protract. of *Leycester*, were merrily and wittily called his old and new Testaments, by a person of great excellency within the Realme) hee was content to assigne to the former a thousand pounds in money with other petty considerations, (the pittifullest abused that ever was poore Lady) and so betake his limmes to the latter, which latter notwithstanding, hee so useth (as wee see) now confessing, now forswearing, now dissembling the marriage : and hee will alwayes yet keepe a voyd place for a new surcontract with any other, when occasion shall require.

Leycesters two Testaments.

Now by my truth Sir (quoth I) I never heard nor *Scholar.*
 read the like to this in my life: yet have I read much
 in my time, of the carnality and licentiousnesse of
 divers outrageous persons, in this kind of sinne, as
 namely these whom you have mentioned before:
 especially the Emperour *Heliogabalus* who passed all
 other, and was called *Varius*, of the variety of filth
 which hee used in this kind of carnality, or carnall *Varius Heliogabalus, and his most in-*
 beastlinesse. Whose death was: that being at length
 odious to all men, and so slaine by his owne Souldiers,
 was drawen through the City upon the ground like a
 dogge, and cast into the common privy, with this
 Epitaph. *Hic projectus est indomitæ & rabidæ libidinis* *An Epitaph.*
catulus. Here is throwen in, the Whelpe of unruly and
 raging lust: which Epitaph, may also one day chance
 to serve my Lord of *Leycester* (whom you call the
 Beare-whelp,) if hee goe forward as hee hath begunne,
 and die as hee deserveth.

But (good Sir) what a compassion is this, that
 among us Christians, and namely in so well governed,
 and religious a Common-wealth as ours is, such a riot
 should bee permitted upon mens wives in a subject: *A pittifull permission.*
 whereas wee read that among the very Heathens, lesse
 offences then these, in the same kind, were extreame-
 ly punished in Princes themselves, and that not onely in
 the person delinquent alone, but also by extirpation

The extirpa-
tion of the
Tarquinians.

An. dom. 959.

of the whole family for his sake, as appeareth in the example of the *Tarquinians* among the *Romans*. And here also in our owne Realme, wee have registred in

Chronicle, how that one King *Edwin* above six hundred yeares past was deprived of his Kingdome, for much lesse scandalous facts then these.

I remember well the story (quoth the Gentleman) and thereby doe easily make conjecture, what difference there is betwixt those times of old, and our dayes now: seeing then, a crowned Prince could not passe unpunished with one or two outrageous acts, whereas now a subject raised up but yesterday from the meaner sort, rangeth at his pleasure in all licentiousnesse, and that with security, void of feare both of God and man. No mans wife can bee free from him, whom his firie lust liketh to abuse, nor their Husbands able to resist nor save from his violence, if they shew dislike, or will not yeeld their consent to his doings. And if I should discover in particular how many good Husbands hee had plagued in this nature, and for such delights, it were intollerable: for his concupiscence and violence doe runne joyntly together, as in furious beasts wee see they are accustomed. Neither holdeth hee any rule in his lust besides onely the motion and suggestion of his owne sensuality. Kindred, affinity or any other band of consanguinity: religion, honour or honesty

The intoller-
able licen-
tiousnesse of
Leycesters
carnality.

taketh no place in his outrageous appetite. What hee best liketh that hee taketh as lawfull for the time. So that Kins-woman, allie, friends wife, or daughter, or whatsoever female sort besides doth please his eye : (I leave out of purpose and for honour sake tearmes of kinred more neare) that must yeeld to his desire.

The keeping of the Mother with two or three of her Daughters at once or successively, is no more with him, then the eating of an Henne and her Chicken together. There are not (by report) two Noble women about her Majesty (I speake upon some accompt of them that know much) whom hee hath not solicited by potent wayes: Neither contented with this place of honour, hee hath descended to seeke pasture among the waiting Gentlewomen of her Majesties great Chamber, offering more for their allurement, then I thinke *Lais* did commonly take in Corinth, if three hundreth pounds for a night, will make up the summe: or if not, yet will hee make it up otherwise: having reported himselfe (so little shame hee hath) that hee offered to an other of higher place, an hundreth pound lands by the yeare with as many Jewels as most Women under her Majesty used in *England*: which was no meane bait to one that used traffique in such marchandize: shee being but the leavings of an other man before him, whereof my Lord is nothing squemish,

Money well
spent.

Anne Vaviser.

for satisfying of his lust, but can bee content (as they say) to gather up crummes when hee is hungry, even in the very Landry it selfe, or other place of baser quality.

The punishments of God upon *Leycester*, to do him good.

And albeit the Lord of his great mercy, to doe him good, no doubt, if hee were revokeable, hath laid his hand upon him, in some chasticement in this World by giving him a broken Belly on both sides of his bowels whereby misery and putrifaction is threatned to him dayly: and to his yong Sonne by the Widdow of *Essex*, (being *Filius peccati*) such a strange calamity of the falling sicknesse in his infancy,* as well may bee a witnesse of the Parents sinne and wickednesse, and of both their wasted natures in iniquity: yet is this man nothing amended thereby, but according to the custome of all old adulterers, is more libidinous at this day then ever before, more given to procure love in others by Conjuring, Sorcery, and other such meanes. And albeit for himselfe, both age, and nature spent, doe somewhat tame him from the act, yet wanteth hee not will, as appeareth by the *Italian Ointment*, procured not many yeares past by his Surgeon or *Mountibanck* of that Country, whereby (as they say) hee is able to move his flesh at all times, for keeping of his credit, howsoever his inability bee otherwise for performance: as also one of his Physitians

* The children of adulterers shall be consumed, and the seed of a wicked bed shall bee rooted out, saith God.—*Sap. 3.*

Leycesters
ointment.

reported to an Earle of this Land, that his Lordship had a bottle for his Bed-head, of tenne pounds the Pint to the same effect. But my Masters whether are wee fallen, unadvised? I am ashamed to have made mention of so base filthinesse.

Leycesters
bottell.

Not without good cause (quoth I) but that wee are here alone and no man heareth us. Wherefore I pray you let us returne whereas wee left: and when you named my Lord of *Leycesters* Daughter borne of the Lady *Sheffield* in *Dudley* Castle, there came into my head a pritty story concerning that affaire: which now I will recompt (though somewhat out of order) thereby to draw you from the further stirring of this unsavory pudle, and foule dunghill, whereunto wee are slipped, by following my Lord somewhat to farre in his paths and actions.

Scholar.

Wherefore to tell you the tale as it fell out: I grew acquainted three Moneths past with a certaine Minister, that now is dead, and was the same man that was used at *Dudley* Castle, for complement of some sacred Ceremonies at the birth of my Lord of *Leycesters* Daughter in that place: and the matter was so ordained, by the wily wit of him that had sowed the seed, that for the better covering of the harvest and secret delivery of the Lady *Sheffield*, the good wife of the Castle also (whereby *Leycesters* appointed gossips, might without

A petty devise.

An act of
Atheisme.

other suspition have accesse to the place) should faigne herselfe to bee with child, and after long and sore travell (God wot) to bee delivered of a cushion (as shee was indeed) and a little after a faire Coffin was buried with a bundell of cloutes in shew of a child: and the Minister caused to use all accustomed prayers and ceremonies for the solemne interring thereof: for which thing, afterward, before his death hee had great grieve and remorse of conscience, with no small detestation of the most irreligious devise of my Lord of *Leycester* in such a case.

Lawyer.

Here the Lawyer began to laugh a pace both at the devise and at the Minister, and said now truly if my Lords contracts hold no better, but hath so many infirmities, with subtilties, and by-places besides: I would bee loth that hee were married to my Daughter, as meane as shee is.

Gentleman.

But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather of the two bee his wife for the time then his guest: especially if the *Italian* Surgion or Physition bee at hand.

Lawyer.

True it is (said the Lawyer) for hee doth not poison his Wives, whereof I somewhat marvaile, especially his first wife, I muse why hee chose rather to make her away by open violence, then by some *Italian* confortive.

Gentleman.

Hereof (said the Gentleman) may bee divers reasons

alleadged. First that he was not at that time so skillfull in those *Italian* wares, nor had about him so fit Physitians and Surgions for the purpose: nor yet in trueth doe I think that his mind was so setled then in mischief, as it hath beene sithence. For you know, that men are not desperate the first day, but doe enter into wickednesse by degrees, and with some doubt or staggering of conscience at the beginning. And so hee at that time might bee desirous to have his wife made away, for that shee letted him in his designements, but yet not so stony harted as to appoint out the particular manner of her death, but rather to leave that, to the discretion of the murderer.

The first reason why *Leycester* slew his wife by violence, rather then by poison.

Secondly, it is not also unlikely that hee prescribed unto Sir *Richard Varney* at his going thither, that hee should first attempt to kill her by poison, and if that tooke not place then by any other way to dispatch her, howsoever. This I prove by the report of old Doctor *Bayly* who then lived in *Oxford* (an other manner of man then hee who now liveth about my Lord of the same name) and was Professor of the Physick Lecture in the same Vniversity. This learned grave man reported for most certaine, that there was a practize in *Cumner* among the conspiratours, to have poisoned the poore Lady a little before shee was killed, which was attempted in this order.

The second reason.

Doctor *Bayly* the elder.

A practise
for poisoning
the Lady
Dudley.

They seeing the good Lady sad and heavy (as one that well knew by her other handling that her death was not farre of) began to perswade her, that her disease was aboumdance of Melancholly and other humours, and therefore would needs counsaile her to take some potion, which shee absolutely refusing, to doe, as suspecting still the worst: they sent one day, (unawares to her) for Doctor *Bayly*, and desired him to perswade her to take some little potion at his hands, and they would send to fetch the same at *Oxford* upon his prescription, meaning to have added also somewhat of their owne for her comfort as the Doctor upon just causes suspected, seeing their great importunity, and the small need which the good Lady had of Physick, and therefore hee flatly denied their request, misdoubting (as hee after reported) least if they had poisoned her under the name of his Potion: hee might after have beene hanged for a cover of their sinne. Marry the said Doctor remained well assured that this way taking no place, shee should not long escape violence as after ensued. And the thing was so beaten into the heads of the principall men of the Vniversity of *Oxford*, by these and other meanes: as for that shee was found murdered (as all men said) by the Crowners inquest, and for that shee being hastely and obscurely buried at *Cumner* (which was condemned above as not

advisedly done) my good Lord, to make plaine to the World the great love hee bare to her in her life, and what a grief the losse of so vertuous a Lady was to his tender heart, would needs have her taken up again and re-buried in the Vniversity Church at *Oxford*, with great Pomp and solemnity: That Doctor *Babington* my Lords Chaplaine, making the publique funerall Sermon at her second buriall, tript once or twice in his speech, by recommending to there memories that vertuous Lady so pittifully murdered, instead of so pittifully slaine.

Doctor
Babington.

A third cause of this manner of this Ladies death, may bee the disposition of my Lords nature: which is bold and violent where it feareth no resistance (as all cowardly natures are by kind) and where any difficulty or danger appeareth, there, more ready to attempt all by art, subtilty, treason and treachery. And so for that hee doubted no great resistance in the poore Lady to withstand the hands of them which should offer to breake her neck: hee durst the bolder attempt the same openly.

A third rea-
son.

But in the men whom hee poisoned, for that they were such valiant Knights the most part of them, as hee durst as soone have eaten his scabard, as draw his sword in publique against them: hee was inforced, (as all wretched irefull and dastardly creatures are) to sup-

plant them by fraud and by other mens hands. As also at other times, hee hath sought to doe unto divers other noble and valiant personages, when hee was afraid to meet them in the field as a Knight should have done.

His treacheries towards, the noble late Earle of *Sussex* in their many breaches, is notorious to all *England*. As also the bloody practizes against divers others.

The intended
murder of
Monsieur *Simiers* by sundry
meanes.

But as among many, none were more odious and misliked of all men, then those against Monsieur *Simiers* a stranger and Ambassador: whom first hee practised to have poisoned (as hath beene touched before) and when that devise tooke not place, then hee appointed that *Robin Tider* his man (as after upon his ale bench hee confessed) should have slaine him at the Black-friars at *Greenewich* as hee went forth at the garden gate: but missing also of that purpose, for that hee found the Gentleman better provided and guarded then hee expected, hee dealt with certaine *Flushiners* and other *Pirates* to sinke him at Sea with the *English* Gentlemen his favourers, that accompanied him at his returne into *France*. And though they missed of this practize also, (as not daring to set upon him for feare of some of her Majesties ships, who, to breake off this designement attended by speciall commandement, to waft him over in safety) yet

the foresaid *English* Gentlemen, were holden foure houres in chace at their comming back: as M. *Rawley* well knoweth being then present, and two of the Chacers named *Clark* and *Harris* confessed afterward the whole designement.

The Earle of *Ormond* in like wise hath often declared, and will avowch it to my Lord of *Leycesters* face, when so ever hee shall bee called to the same, that at such time as this man had a quarrell with him and thereby was likely to bee enforced to the field (which hee trembled to thinke of) hee first sought by all meanes to get him made away by secret murder, offering five hundreth pounds for the doing thereof: and secondly when that device tooke no place, hee appointed with him the field, but secretly suborning his servant *William Killegre* to lie in the way where *Ormond* should passe, and so to massaker him with a Calliver, before hee came to the place appointed. Which murder though it tooke no effect, for that the matter was taken up, before the day of meeting: yet was *Killigre* placed afterward in her Majesties privy Chamber by *Leycester*, for shewing his ready mind, to doe for his Master so faithfull a service.

The intended murder of the Earle of *Ormond*.

William Killigre.

So faithfull a service (quoth I?) truly, in my opinion, it was but an unfit preferment, for so facinorous a fact. And as I would bee loth that many of his *Italians*, or other of that art, should come nigh about her Majesties

Scholar.

Kitchen: so much lesse would I, that many such his bloody Champions should bee placed by him in her highnesse Chamber. Albeit for this Gentleman in particular, it may bee, that with change of his place in service, hee hath changed also his mind and affection, and received better instruction in the feare of the Lord.

Preoccupat-
tion of her
Majesties
person.

But yet in generall I must needs say, that it cannot bee but prejudiciall and exceeding dangerous unto our noble Prince and Realme, that any one man whatsoever (especially such a one as the World taketh this man to bee) should grow to so absolute authority and commandry in the Court, as to place about the Princes person (the head, the heart, the life of the land) what so ever people liketh him best, and that now upon their deserts towards the Prince, but towards himselfe: whose fidelity being more obliged to their advancer then to their soveraigne, doe serve for watchmen about the same, for the profit of him, by whose appointment they were placed. Who by their meanes casting indeed but Nettles and Chaines, and invisible bands about that person, whom most of all hee pretendeth to serve, he shutteth up his Prince in a prison most sure, though sweet and senselesse.

An ordinary
way of aspir-
ing by pre-
occupation of
the Princes
person.

Neither is this art of aspiring new or strange unto any man that is experienced in affaires of former time: for it hath beene from the beginning of all government

a troden path of all aspirers. In the stories both Sacred and Prophane, forraine and domesticall of all Nations, Kingdomes, Countries, and States you shall read, that such as meant to mount above others, and to governe all at their owne discretion: did lay this for the first ground and principle of their purpose: to possesse themselves of all such as were in place about the principal: even as hee who intending to hold a great City at his owne disposition, not dareth make open warre against the same: getteth secretly into his hands or at his devotion, all the Townes, Villages, Castles, Fortresses, Bulwarkes, Rampires, Waters, Wayes, Ports and Passages, about the same, and so without drawing any sword against the said City, hee bringeth the same into bondage to abide his will and pleasure.

A comparison.

This did all these in the *Romane* Empire, who rose from subjects to bee great Princes, and to put downe Emperours. This did all those in *France* and other Kingdomes, who at sundry times have tyranized their Princes. And in our owne Country the examples are manifest of *Vortiger*, *Harold*, *Henry of Lancaster*, *Richard of Warwick*, *Richard of Gloucester*, *Iohn of Northumberland* and divers others, who by this meane specially, have pulled downe their Lawful soveraignes.

And to speake onely a word or two of the last, for that hee was this mans Father: doth not all *England*

The way of
aspiring in
Duke *Dudley*.

know, that hee first overthrew the good Duke of *Somerset*, by drawing to his devotion the very servants and friends of the said Duke? And afterward did hee not possesse himselfe of the Kings owne person, and brought him to the end which is knowen, and before that, to the most shamefull disheriting of his owne Royall Sisters: and all this, by possessing first the principall men, that were in authority about him?

Wherefore Sir if my Lord of *Leycester* have the same plot in his head (as most men thinke) and that hee meaneth one day to give the same push at the Crowne by the House of *Huntington*, against all the race and line of King *Henry* the seventh in generall which his Father gave before him, by pretence of the House of *Suffolke*, against the Children of King *Henry* the eight in particular: hee wanteth not reason to follow the same meanes and platforme of planting speciall persons, for his purpose about the Prince for surely his Fathers plot lacked no witty device or preparation, but onely that God overthrew it at the instant: as happily hee may doe this mans) also notwithstanding any diligence that humane wisdomes can use to the contrary.

Gentleman.

To this said the Gentleman: that my Lord of *Leycester* hath a purpose to shoot one day at the Diademe by the title of *Huntington*, is not a thing obscure in it selfe, and it shall bee more plainely proved hereafter. But

now will I shew unto you, for your instruction, how well this man hath followed his Fathers platforme (or rather passed the same) in possessing himselfe of all her Majesties servants, friends, and forces, to serve his turne at that time for execution, and in the meane space for preparation.

First, in the privy Chamber, next unto her Majesties Person, the most part are his owne creatures (as hee calleth them) that is, such as acknowledge their being in that place, from him: and the rest hee so overruleth either by flattery or feare, as none may dare but to serve his turne. And his raigne is so absolute in this place, (as also in all other parts of the Court) as nothing can passe but by his admission, nothing can bee said, done, or signified, whereof hee is not particularly advertised: no bill, no supplication, no complaint, no sute, no speech, can passe from any man to the Princesse (except it bee from one of the Councell) but by his good liking: or if there doe: hee being admonished thereof (as presently hee shall :) the party delinquent is sure after to abide the smart thereof. Whereby hee holdeth as it were a lock upon the eares of his Prince, and the tongues of all her Majesties servants, so surely chained to his girdle, as no man dareth to speake any one thing that may offend him, though it bee never so true or behovefull for her Majesty to know.

Leycesters
power in the
privy cham-
ber.

Leycester
married at
Wanstead;
when her Ma-
jesty was at
M. *Stoners*
house.
Doctor
Culpepper,
Physitian
Minister.

As well appeared in his late marriage with Dame *Essex*, which albeit it was celebrated twice: first at *Killingworth*, and secondly at *Waenstead* (in the presence of the Earle of *Warwick*, Lord *North*, Sir *Francis Knooles* and others) and this exactly known to the whole Court, with the very day, the place, the witnesses, and the Minister that married them together: yet no man durst open his mouth to make her Majesty privy thereunto, untill Monsieur *Simiers* disclosed the same, (and thereby incurred his high displeasure) nor yet in many dayes after for feare of *Leycester*. Which is a subjection most dishonorable and dangerous to any Prince living, to stand at the devotion of his subject, what to heare or not to heare, of things that passe within his owne Realme.

No sute can
passe but by
Leycester.

Read *Polidore*
in the 7 yeare
of King *Rich-
ard I.* and you
shall find this
proceeding of
certain about
that K. to bee
put as a great
cause of his
overthrow.

And hereof it followeth that no sute can prevaile in Court, bee it never so meane, except hee first bee made acquainted there with, and receive not onely the thanks, but also bee admitted unto a great part of the gaine and commodity thereof. Which, as it is a great injury to the suter: so is it a farre more greater to the bounty, honour and security of the Prince, by whose liberality this man feedeth onely, and fortifieth himselfe, depriving his soveraigne of all grace, thanks, and good will of the same. For which cause also hee giveth out ordinarily, to every suter, that her Majesty

is nigh and parsimonious of her selfe, and very difficile to grant any sute, were it not onely upon his incessant solicitation. Whereby hee filleth his owne purse the more, and emptieth the hearts of such as receive benefit, from due thankes to their Princes for the sute obtained.

Hereof also ensueth, that no man may bee preferred in Court (bee hee otherwise never so well a deserving servant to her Majesty) except hee bee one of *Leycesters* faction or followers: none can bee advanced, except hee bee liked and prefered by him: none receive grace, except hee stand in his good favour, no one may live in countenance, or quiet of life, except hee take it, use it, and acknowledge it from him, so as all the favours, graces, dignities, preferments, riches and rewards, which her Majesty bestoweth, or the Realme can yeeld: must serve to purchase this man private friends, and favourers, onely to advance his party, and to fortifie his faction. Which faction if by these meanes it bee great, (as indeed it is:) you may not marvaile, seeing the riches and wealth, of so worthy a Common-weale, doe serve him but for a price to buy the same.

No preferments but by
Leycester to
Leycesterians.

Which thing himselfe well knowing, frameth his spirit of proceeding accordingly. And first, upon confidence thereof, is become so insolent and impotent of his Ire that no man may beare the same, how justly or

Leycesters
anger and
insolency.

unjustly so ever it bee conceived: for albeit hee begin to hate a man upon bare surmises onely (as commonly it falleth out, ambition being alwayes the mother of suspicion) yet hee prosecuteth the same, with such implacable cruelty, as there is no long abiding for the party in that place. As might bee shewed by the examples of many whom hee hath chased from the Court, upon his onely displeasure without other cause, being knowne to bee otherwise, zealous Protestants. As Sir *Jerome Bowes*, Master *George Scot*, and others that wee could name.

Leycester's
peremptory
dealing.

To this insolency is also joyned (as by nature it followeth) most absolute and peremptory dealing in all things whereof it pleaseth him to dispose, without respect either of reason, order, due, right, subordination, custome, conveniency, or the like: whereof notwithstanding Princes themselves are wont to have regard in disposition of their matters: as for example among the servants of the Queenes Majesties houshold, it is an ancient and most commendable order and custome, that when a place of higher roome falleth void, hee that by succession is next, and hath made prooffe of his worthinesse in an inferiour place, should rise and possesse the same, (except it be for some extraordinary cause) to the end that no man unexperienced or untried, should bee placed in the higher roomes the

first day, to the prejudice of others, and differvice of the Prince.

Which most reasonable custome, this man contemning and breaking at his pleasure, thrusteth into higher roomes any person whatsoever, so hee like his inclination or feele his reward : albeit hee neither bee fit for the purpose, nor have beene so much as clarke in any inferiour office before.

*Breaking of
order in her
Majesties
household.*

The like hee useth out of the Court, in all other places where matters should passe by order election or degree : as in the Vniversities, in election of Scholars and heads of houses, in Ecclesiastical persons, for dignities of Church, in Officers, Magistrates, Stewards of lands, Sheriffes and Knights of the Shires, in Burghesses of the Parliament, in Commissioners, Judges, Justices of the peace, (whereof many in every shire must weare his livery) and all other the like : where this mans will, must stand for reason, and his letters for absolute lawes, neither is there any man, magistrate, or communer in the Realme, who dareth not sooner deny their petition of her Majesties letters, upon just causes, (for that her highnesse is content after to bee satisfied with reason) then to resist the commandement of this mans letters, who will admit no excuse or satisfaction, but onely the execution of his said commandement, bee it right or wrong.

*Leycesters
violating of
all order in
the countrey
abroad.*

Lawyer.

To this answered the Lawyer, now verily (Sir) you paint unto mee a strange paterne of a perfect Potentate in the Court: belike that stranger, who calleth our state in his printed booke *Leycestrensem rempublicam*, a Leycestrian Common-wealth, or the Common-wealth of my Lord of *Leycester*, knoweth much of these matters. But to hold (Sir) still within the Court: I assure you that by considerations, which you have laid downe, I doe begin now to perceive, that his party must needs bee very great and strong within the said Court, seeing that hee hath so many wayes and meanes to encrease, enrich, and encourage the same, and so strong abilities to tread downe his enemies. The Common speech of many wanteth not reason I perceive, which calleth him the heart and life of the Court.

Gentleman.

Leicester
called the
heart and life
of the Court.

They which call him the heart (said the Gentleman) upon a little occasion more, would call him also the head: and then I marvaile what should bee left for her Majesty, when they take from her both life, heart, and headship in her owne Realme? But the truth is, that hee hath the Court at this day, in almost the same case, as his Father had it, in King *Edwards* dayes, by the same device, (the Lord forbid, that ever it come fully to the same state, for then wee know what ensued to the principall :) and if you will have an evident demonstration of this mans power and favour in that

place : call you but to mind the times when her Majesty upon most just and urgent occasions, did with-draw but a little her wonted favour and countenance towards him : did not all the Court as it were, mutiny presently ? did not every man hang the lippe ? except a few, who afterward paid sweetly for their mirth, were there not every day new devises sought out, that some should bee on their knees to her Majesty, some should weepe and put finger in their eyes : other should find out certaine covert manner of threatning : other reasons and perswasions of love : other of profit : other of honour : other of necessitie ; and all to get him recalled back to favour againe ? And had her Majesty any rest permitted unto her, untill shee had yeilded and granted to the same.

A demonstration of *Leycesters* tyrannie in the Court.

Consider then (I pray you) that if at that time, in his disgrace, hee had his faction so fast assured to himself : what hath he now in his prosperity, after so many yeares of fortification ? wherein by all reason hee hath not beene negligent, seeing that in policy the first point of good fortification is, to make that fort impregnable, which once hath beene in danger to bee lost. Whereof you have an example in *Richard Duke of Yorke*, in the time of King *Henry* the sixth, who being once in the Kings hands by his owne submission, and dimissed againe (when for his deserts, hee should have

Leycester provideth never to come in the *Queenes* danger again.

Anno Regni 31.

suffered: provided after, that the King should never bee able to over-reach him the second time, or have him in his power to doe him hurt, but made himselfe strong enough to pull downe the other with extirpation of his family.

*Leycesters
puissance in
the privy
Councell.*

And this of the Court, houshold and Chamber of her Majesty. But now if wee shall passe from Court to Councell, wee shall find him no lesse fortified but rather more: for albeit the providence of God hath beene such, that in this most honourable assemblie, there hath not wanted some two or three of the wisest, gravest, and most experienced in our state, that have seene and marked this mans perillous proceedings from the beginning, (whereof notwithstanding two are now disceased, and their places supplied to *Leycesters* good liking:) yet (alas) the wisdom of these worthy men, hath discovered alwayes more, then their authorities were able to redresse: (the others great power and violence considered) and for the residue of that bench and table, though I doubt not but there bee divers, who doe in heart detest his doings (as there were also, no doubt among the Councillours of King *Edward*, who misliketh this man's Fathers attempts, though not so hardy as to contrary the same :) yet for most part of the Councell present, they are knowne to bee so affected in particular, the one for that hee is to him a

*L. Keeper.
L. Chamber-
laine.*

Brother, the other a Father, the other a Kinsman, the other an allie, the other a fast obliged friend, the other a fellow or follower in faction, as none will stand in the breach against him: none dare resist or encounter his designements: but every man yeelding rather to the force of his flow, permitteth him to pearce, and passe at his pleasure, in whatsoever his will is once settled to obtaine.

And hereof (were I not stayed for respect of some whom I may not name) I could alledge strange examples, not so much in affaires belonging to subjects and to private men, (as were the cases of *Snowden* forrest, *Denbigh* of *Killingworth*, of his faire Pastures fowly procured by *Southam*, of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of the *L. Barkley*, of *Sir Iohn Throgmarton*, of Master *Robinson* and the like;) wherein those of the Councell that disliked his doings, least dared to oppose themselves to the same; but also in things that appertaine directly to the Crowne and dignity, to the State and Common-weale, and to the safety and continuance thereof. It is not secure for any one Councellour, or other of authority, to take notice of my Lords errors or misdeeds, but with extreame perill of there owne ruine.

As for example: in the beginning of the rebellion in *Ireland*, when my Lord of *Leycester* was in some disgrace, and consequently, as hee imagined but in

Matters
wherein the
councell are
inforced to
winke at
Leycester.

Leycesters
intelligence
with the
rebellion in
Ireland.

fraile state at home, hee thought it not unexpedient, for his better assurance, to hold some intelligence also that way, for all events, and so hee did: whereof there was so good evidence and testimony found, upon one of the first of accompt, that was there slaine (as honourable personages of their knowledge have assured mee) as would have beene sufficient, to touch the life of any subject in the land, or in any state Christian, but onely my Lord of *Leycester*: who is a subject without subjection.

For what thinke you? durst any man take notice hereof, or avouch that hee had seene thus much? durst hee that tooke it in *Ireland*, deliver the same where especially hee should have done? or they who received it in *England*, (for it came to great hands,) use it to the benefit of their Princes and Country? No surely: for if it had beene but onely suspected, that they had seene such a thing, it would have beene as dangerous unto them as it was to *Acteon* to have seen *Diana* and her Maidens naked: whose case is so common now in *England* as nothing more, and so doe the examples of divers well declare: whose unfortunate knowledge of to many secrets, brought them quickly to unfortunate ends.

*Acteon's case
now come in
England.*

*Salvatour
slaine in his
bed.*

For wee heare of one *Salvatour* a stranger, long used in great Mysteries of base affaires and dishonest

aſſions, who afterward upon what demerit I know not) ſuſtained a hard fortune, for being late with my Lord in his ſtudy, well neare untill midnight, (if I bee rightly informed) went home to his Chamber, and the next morning was found ſlaine in his bed. Wee heare alſo of one *Doughty*, hanged in haſt by Captaine *Drake* upon the Sea, and that by order (as is thought) before his departure out of *England*, for that hee was over privy to the ſecrets of this good Earle.

Doughty
hanged by
Drake.

There was alſo this laſt Summer paſt, one, *Gates* hanged at *Tiborne*, among others, for robbing of Carriers, which *Gates* had beene lately Clarke of my Lords Kitching, and had layed out much money of his owne, (as he ſaid) for my Lords proviſion, being alſo otherwiſe, in ſo great favour and grace with his Lord as no man living was thought to bee more privy of his ſecrets then this man, wherupon alſo it is to bee thought, that hee presumed the rather to commit this robbery, (for to ſuch things doth my Lords good favour moſt extend :) and being apprehended and in danger for the ſame, hee made his recourſe to his honour for, protection, (as the faſhion is) and that hee might bee borne out, as divers of leſſe merit had beene by his Lordſhip, in more heinous cauſes before him.

The ſtory of
Gates hanged
at *Tiborne*.

The good Earle answered his Servant and deare Privado courteouſly, and aſſured him, for his life, how

soever for utter shew or complement the forme of Law might passe against him, But *Gates* seeing himselfe condemned, and nothing now betweene his head and the halter, but the word of the Magistrate which might come in an instant, when it would bee too late to send to his Lord: remembring also the small assurance of his said Lords word by his former dealings towards other men, whereof this man was too much privy: hee thought good to sollicite his case also by some other of his friends, though not so puissant as his Lord and Master, who dealing indeed, both diligently and effectually in his affaire, found the matter more difficult a great deale than either hee or they had imagined: for that my Lord of *Leycester*, was not onely not his favorer, but a great hastener of his death under hand; and that with such care, diligence, vehemency, and irresistable meanes, (having the Law also on his side,) that there was no hope at all of escaping: which thing when *Gates* heard of, hee easily beleaved for the experience hee had of his Masters good nature, and said, that hee alwayes mistrusted the same, considering how much his Lordship was in debt to him, and hee made privie to his Lordships foule secrets, which secrets hee would, there presently have uttered in the face of all the World, but that hee feared torments or speedy death, with some extraor-

dinary cruelty, if hee should so have done, and therefore hee disclosed the same onely to a Gentleman of worship, whom hee trusted specially, whose name I may not utter for some causes (but it beginneth with H.) and I am in hope ere it bee long, by meanes of a friend of mine, to have a sight of that discourse and report of *Gates*, which hitherto I have not seene nor ever spake I with the Gentleman that keepeth it, though I bee well assured that the whole matter passed in substance as I have here recounted it.

Whereunto I answered, that in good faith it were *Scholar.*

pitty that this relation should bee lost, for that it is very like, that many rare things bee declared therin, seeing it is done by a man so privy to the affaires themselves, wherein also hee had beene used an instrument. I will have it (quoth the Gentleman) or els my friends shall faile mee, howbeit not so soone as I would, for that hee is in the West countrey that should procure it for mee, and will not returne for certaine months, but after I shall see him againe, I will not leave him untill hee procure it for mee, as hee hath promised well (quoth I,) but what is become of that evidence found in *Ireland* under my Lords hand, which no man dare pursue, avouch, or behold.

Truly (said the Gentleman) I am informed that it *Gentleman.*
lieth safely reserved in good custody, to bee brought

This relation of *Gates*, may serve hereafter for an addition in the second edition of this booke.

forth and avouched, when so ever it shall please God so to dispose of her Majesties heart, as to lend an indifferent eare, as well to his accusers, as to himselfe, in judgement.

The deck reserved for
Leycester.

Leycesters
puissant violence with
the Prince
herselfe.

Neither must you thinke, that this is strange, nor that the things are few, which are in such sort reserved in deck for the time to come, even among great personages, and of high calling, for seeing the present state of his power to bee such, and the tempest of his tyrannie to bee so strong and boisterous, as no man may stand in the rage therof, without perill, for that even from her Majesty her selfe, in the lenity of her Princely nature, hee extorteth what he designeth, either by fraud, flattery, false information, request, pretence, or violent importunity, to the overbearing of all, whom hee meaneth to oppresse: No marvaile then though many even of the best and faithfullest subjects of the Land, doe yeeld to the present time, and doe keepe silence in some matters, that otherwise they would take it for duty to utter.

And in this kind, it is not long sithence a worshipfull and wise friend of mine told mee a testimony in secret, from the mouth of as noble and grave a Counsellour, as *England* hath enjoyed these many hundreth yeares: I meane the late Lord Chamberlaine, with whom my said friend being alone at his house in

London, not twenty dayes before his death, conferred somewhat familiarly about these and like matters, as with a true Father of his Countrey and Commonwealth: and after many complaints in the behalfe of divers, who had opened their griefes unto Councillours, and saw that no notice would bee taken therof: the said noble man, turning himselfe somewhat about from the water (for hee sate neare his pond side, where hee beheld the taking of a pike or carpe) said to my frend: It is no marvaile (Sir) for who dareth intermeddle himselfe in my Lords affaires? I will tell you (quoth hee) in confidence betweene you and mee, there is as wise a man and as grave, and as faithfull a Councillour, as *England* breedeth, (meaning thereby the Lord Treasurer) who hath as much in his keeping of *Leycesters* owne handwriting, as is sufficient to hang him, if either hee durst present the same to her Majesty, or her Majesty doe justice when it should bee presented. But indeed (quoth hee) the time permitteth neither of them both, and therefore it is in vaine for any man to struggle with him.

The Earle of
Sussex his
speech of the
Earle of *Ley-*
cester.

The Lord
Burghley.

These were that noble mans words, whereby you may consider whether my Lord of *Leycester* bee strong this day in Councill or no: and whether his fortification be sufficient in that place.

But now if out of the Councill, wee wiil turne but

Leycesters
power in the
Countrey
abroad.

our eye in the Countrey abroad, wee shall find as good fortification also there, as wee have perused already in Court and Councell: and shall well perceive that this mans plot, is no fond or indiscreet plot, but excellent well grounded, and such as in all proportions hath his due correspondence.

Consider then, the cheife and principall parts of this land for martiall affaires, for use and commodity of armour, for strength, for opportunity, for liberty of the people, as dwelling farthest of from the presence and aspect of their Prince, such parts (I say) as are fittest for sudden enterprises, without danger of interception: as are the North, the West, the Countries of *Wales*, the Ilands round about the land, and sundry other places within the same: Are they not all at this day at his disposition? are they not all (by his procurement) in the onely hands of his friends and allies? or of such, as by other matches, have the same complot and purpose with him?

Yorke Earle
of *Huntington*.

Barwick.

The Lord
Hunsden.

In *Yorke* is president, the man that of all other is fittest for that place, that is, his nearest in affinity, his dearest in friendship, the head of his faction, and open competitor of the Scepter. In *Barwick* is Captaine, his Wives uncle, most assured to himselfe and *Huntington*, as one who at convenient time, may as much advance their designements, as any one man in *England*.

In *Wales* the chiefe authority from the Prince, is in his owne brother in law : but among the people, of naturall affection, is in the Earle of *Pembrooke* : who both by marriage of his sisters daughter is made his ally, and by dependence is knowne to bee wholly, at his disposition.

Wales.

Sir *Henry Sidney.*

The Earle of *Pembrooke.*

The West part of *England* is under *Bedford*, a man wholly devoted to his and the Puritans faction.

The West.

Earle of *Bedford.*

In *Ireland* was governour of late the principall instrument appointed for their purposes : both in respect of his heat, and affection toward their designments, as also of some secret discontentment, which hee hath towards her Majesty and the state present for certaine hard* speeches and ingrate recompences, as hee pretendeth : but indeed for that hee is knowne to bee of nature fyrie, and impatient of stay, from seeing that Common-wealth on foote, which the next competitours for their gaine, have painted out to him and such others, more pleasant then the Terrestrial Paradise it selfe.

The Lord *Grey.*

*Her Majesty (as he saith, for striking of Master *Fortescue*) called him lame wretch : that grieved him so, (for that hee was hurt in her service at *Lieth*) as hee said, hee would live to be revenged.

This then is the *Heſtor*, this is the *Ajax* appointed for the enterprise, when the time shall come. This must bee (forsooth) an other *Richard* of *Warwick*, to gaine the Crowne for *Henry* the ninth of the House of *Yorke* : as the other *Richard* did put downe *Henry* the sixt of the House of *Lancaster*, and placed *Edward* the

fourth, from whom *Huntington* deriveth his title: therefore this man is necessarily to bee entertained from time to time, (as wee see now hee is) in some charge and martiall action, to the end his experience, power, and credit may grow the more, and hee bee able at the time to have souldiers at his commandement. And for the former charge which held of late in *Ireland*, as this man had not beene called away, but for execution of some other secret purpose,* for advancement of their designements: so bee well assured that for the time to come, it is to bee furnished againe with a sure and fast friend to *Leycester* and to that faction.

* In *Scotland* or elsewhere, against the next inheritance or present possessor.

Sir *Iohn Parotte*.

Sir *Edward Horsey*.
Sir *George Carew*.

Sir *Amias Paulet*.
Sir *Thomas Layton*.

In the Ile of *Wight* I grant that *Leycester* hath lost a great friend and a trusty servant by the death of Captaine *Horsey*, but yet the matter is supplied by the succession of an other, no lesse assured unto him then the former, or rather more, through the band of affinity by his wife. The two Ilands of *Gersey* and *Gernsey* are in the possession of two friends and most obliged dependents. The one, by reason hee is exceedingly addicted to the Puritane proceedings: the other, as now being joyned unto him by the marriage of Mistres *Besse* his wives Sister, both Daughters to Sir *Francis*, or (at least) to my Lady *Knooles*, and so become a rivale, companion and brother, who was before (though trusty) yet but his servant.

And these are the chiefe Keyes, Fortresses and Bulwarkes, within, without and about the Realme, which my Lord of *Leycester* possessing, (as hee doth,) hee may bee assured of the body within: where notwithstanding (as hath beene shewed) hee wanteth no due preparation for strength: having at his disposition (besides all aydes and other helpes specified before) her Majesties horse, and stables, by interest of his owne office: her Armour, Artillery and Munition, by the office of his brother the Earle of *Warwick*. The Tower of *London* and treasure therein, by the dependence of Sir *Owin Hopton* his sworne servant, as ready to receive and furnish him with the whole (if occasion served) as one of his predecessours was, to receive his Father in King *Edwards* dayes, for the like effect, against her Majesty, and her Sister.

Her Majes-
ties stable.
Her armour,
munition,
and artillery.
The Tower.

And in the City of *London* it selfe what this man at a pinch, could doe, by the helpe of some of the principall men, and chiefe leaders, and (as it were) Commanders of the Commons there, and by the bestirring of *Fleetwood* his madde Recorder, and other such his instruments: and also in all other Townes, Ports, and Cities of importance, by such of his owne setting up, as he hath placed there to serve his designements, and justices of peace with other, that in most Shires doe weare his livery, and are at his appointment: the simplest man within the Realme doth consider.

London.

Sir Rowland
Heyward, &c.

Madde *Fleet-
wood.*

Whereunto if you adde now his owne forces and furniture, which hee hath in *Killingworth* Castle, and other places, as also the forces of *Huntington* in particular, with their friends, followers, allies, and Compartenors: you shall find that they are not behind in their preparations.

Scholar.

My Lord of
Huntingtons
preparation
at *Ashby*.

Killingworth
Castle.

For my Lord of *Huntingtons* forwardnesse in the cause (said I) there is no man, I thinke, which maketh doubt: marry for his private forces, albeit they may bee very good, for any thing I doe know to the contrary, (especially at his house within five and twenty miles of *Killingworth*, where one told mee some yeares past, that hee had furniture ready for five thousand men:) yet doe I not thinke, but that they are farre inferiour to my Lord of *Leycester* who is taken to have excessive store, and that in divers places. And as for the Castle last mentioned by you, there are men of good intelligence, and of no small judgement, who report, that in the same, hee hath well to furnish, ten thousand good souldiers, of all things necessary both for horse and man, besides all other munition, armour, and artillery, (whereof great store was brought thither under pretence of triumph, when her Majesty was there, and never as yet carried back againe) and besides the great abundance of ready Coine, there laid up (as is said) sufficient for any great exploit to bee done within the Realme.

And I know that the estimation of this place was such, among divers, many yeares agoe : as when at a time her Majesty lay dangerously sick, and like to die, at *Hampton Court*, a certaine Gentleman of the Court, came unto my Lord of *Huntington*, and told him, that for so much as hee tooke his Lord to bee next in succession after her Majesty, hee would offer him a meane of great helpe, for compassing of his purpose, after the decease of her Majesty which was, the possession of *Killingworth Castle* (for at that time these two Earles were not yet very friends, nor confederate together) and that being had, hee shewed to the Earle the great furniture and wealth, which thereby hee should possesse for pursuite of his purpose.

Ralph Lane.

The offer and
acceptation of
Killingworth
Castle.

The proposition was well liked, and the matter esteemed of great importance, and consequently received with many thanks. But yet afterward her Majesty by the good providence of God, recovering againe, letted the execution of the bargaine : and my Lord of *Huntington* having occasion to joyne amity with *Leycester*, had more respect to his owne commodity, then to his friends security, (as commonly in such persons and cases it falleth out) and so discovered the whole device unto him, who forgat not after, from time to time, to plague the deviser by secret meanes, untill hee had brought him to that poore estate, as all

the World seeth : though many men bee not acquainted with the true cause of this his disgrace and bad fortune.

Lawyer.

To this answered the Lawyer : In good faith (Gentlemen) you open great mysteries unto mee, which either I knew not, or considered not so particularly before, and no marvaile, for that my profession and exercise of law, restraineth mee from much company keeping : and when I happen to bee among some that could tell mee much herein, I dare not either aske, or heare if any of himselfe beginne to talke, least afterward the speech comming to light, I bee fetched over the coals (as the proverbe is) for the same, under pretence of an other thing. But you (who are not suspected for religion) have much greater priviledge in such matters, both to heare and speake againe, which men of mine estate dare not doe : Onely this I knew before, that throughout all *England* my Lord of *Leycester* is taken for *Dominus fac totum* : Whose excellency above others is infinite, whose authority is absolute, whose commandement is dreadfull, whose dislike is dangerous, and whose favour is omnipotent.

The prerogative of my Lord of *Leycester*.

And for his will, though it bee seldome law, yet alwayes is his power above law : and therefore wee Lawyers in all cases brought unto us, have as great regard to his inclination, as Astronomers have to the

Planet dominant, or as Sea-men have to the North-Pole.

For as they that saile, doe direct their course, according to the situation and direction of that starre which guideth them at the Pole; and as Astronomers who make prognostications, doe foretell things to come, according to the aspect of the Planet dominant, or bearing rule for the time: so wee doe guide our Clients barke, and doe prognosticate what is like to ensue of his cause, by the aspect and inclination of my Lord of *Leycester*. And for that reason, as soone as ever wee heare a case proposed, our custome is to aske, what part my Lord of *Leycester* is like to favour in the matter (for in all matters lightly of any importance, hee hath a part) or what may bee gathered of his inclination therein: and according to that wee give a ghesse, more or lesse, what end will ensue.

Leycester
the Starre
directory to
Lawyers in
their clients
affaires.

But this (my Masters) is from the purpose: and therefore returning to your former speech againe, I doe say, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular provisions of my Lord and his friends, in such and such places: yet seeing him accompted Lord generall over all the whole Realme, and to have at his commandement, all these severall commodities and forces pertaining to her Majesty which you have mentioned before, and so many more as bee in the Realme,

Leycesters
furniture in
money.

The saying of
a Knight of
the Shire
touching
Leycesters
money.

and not mentioned by you (for in fine, hee hath all :) I could not but accompt him (as hee is) a potent Prince of our state, for all furniture needfull to defence or offence, or rather the onely Monarch of our nobility, who hath sufficient of himselfe to plunge his Prince, if hee should bee discontented, especiall for his abundance of money, (which, by the wise, is tearmed the Sinewes of Martiall actions) wherein by all mens judgements, hee is better furnished at this day, than ever any subject of our land, either hath benee heretofore, or lightly may bee hereafter, both for bankes without the Realme, and stuffed coffers within. Inso-much that being my selfe in the last Parliament, when the matter was moved, for the grant of a Subsidie, after that, one for her Majesty had given very good reasons, why her highnesse was in want of money, and consequently needed the alliance of her faithfull subjects therein, an other that sat next mee of good accompt said in mine eare secretly: these reasons I doe well allow, and am contented to give my part in money: but yet, for her Majesties need, I could make answere as one answered once the Emperor *Tiberius* in the like case and cause: *Abunde ei pecuniam fore, si à liberto suo in societatem reciperetur*; that her Majesty should have money enough, if one of her servants would vouchsafe to make her highnesse partaker with

him : meaning thereby my Lord of *Leycester*, whose treasure must needs in one respect, bee greater, then that of her Majesty ; for that hee layeth up whatsoever hee getteth, and his expenses he casteth upon the purse of his Princes.

For that (said the Gentleman) whether hee doe or Gentleman.

no, it importeth little to the matter : seeing both that which hee spendeth, and that hee hordeth, is truly and properly his Princes Treasure : and seeing hee hath so many and divers wayes of gaining, what should hee make accompt of his owne private expences ? if he lay out one for a thousand, what can that make him the poorer ? hee that hath so goodly lands, possessions, The infinite wayes of gaining that *Leycester* hath.

Seigniories and rich offices of his owne, as hee is knowne to have : hee that hath so speciall favour and authority with the Prince, as hee can obtaine whatsoever hee listeth to demand : hee that hath his part and Sutes.

portion in all sutes besides, that passe by grace, or els (for the most part) are ended by law : hee that may chop and change what lands hee listeth with her Lands. Majestie, dispoile them of all their woods and other commodities, and rack them afterward to the uttermost penny, and then returne the same, so tenter-stretched and bare-shorne, into her Majesties hands againe, by fresh exchange, rent for rent, for other lands never enhansed before : he that possesseth so many

Licenses.	gainefull licences to himselfe alone of wine, oyles, currants, cloath, velvets, with his new office for licence of alienation, most pernicious unto the Common-wealth, as hee useth the same, with many other the like, which were sufficient to enrich whole Townes, Corporations, Countries, and Common-wealths: hee that hath the art, to make gainefull to himselfe every offence, displeasure and falling out of her Majesty with him, and every angry countenance cast upon him: hee that
Falling out with her Majesty.	
Offices.	hath his share in all offices of great profit and holdeth an absolute Monopolie of the same: hee that disposeth at his will Ecclesiastical livings of the Realme,
Cleargy.	maketh Bishops, none, but such as will doe reason, or of his Chaplaines whom hee listeth, and retaineth to himselfe so much of the living as liketh him best:
Benefices.	he that sweepeth away the glebe from so many benefices throughout the land and compoundeth with the
Vniversity.	person for the rest. Hee that so scoureth the Vniversity and Colledges where hee is Chancellor, and selleth both headships and Schollars places, and all other offices, roomes and dignities, that by art or violence may yeeld money: hee that maketh title to what land or other thing hee please and driveth the parties to
Oppressions.	compound for the same: hee that taketh in whole Forests, Commons, Woods, and Pastures to himselfe,
Rapines.	compelling the tenants to pay him new rent, and what

hee cesseth: hee that vexeth and oppresseth whomsoever hee list, taketh from any what hee list, and maketh his owne claime, sute, and end as hee list: hee that selleth his favour with the Prince, both abroad in forraine Countries, and at home, and setteth the price thereof what himselfe will demand: hee that hath and doth all this, and besides this, hath infinite presents daily brought unto him of great valew, both in Jewels, Plate, all kind of Furniture and ready Coine: this man (I say) may easily beare his owne expences, and yet lay up sufficiently also to weary his Prince when needs shall require.

Princes favour.

Presents.

You have said much Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) and such matter as toucheth neerely both her Majesty and the Common-wealth: and yet in my conscience if I were to plead at the barre for my Lord: I could not tell which of all these members to deny. But for that which you mention in the last part, of his gaining by her Majesties favour, both at home and abroad: Touching his home-gaine it is evident, seeing all that hee hath is gotten onely by the opinion of her Majesties favour towards him: and many men doe repaire unto him, with fat presents, rather for that they suppose, hee may by his favour doe them hurt, if hee feele not their reward, then for that they hope hee will labour any thing in their affaires.

Lawyer.

Leycesters home-gaine by her Majesties favour.

A pretty
story.

You remember (I doubt not) the story of him, that offered his Prince a great yearely rent, to have but this favour onely, that hee might come every day in open audience, and say in his eare, God save your Majestie, assuring himselfe, that by the opinion of confidence and secret favour, which hereby the people would conceive to bee in the Prince, towards him, hee should easily get up his rent againe double told. Wherefore, my Lord of *Leycester* receiving dayly from her Majestie greater tokens of grace and favour then this, and himselfe being no evill marchant, to make his owne bargain for the best of his commodities: cannot but gaine exceedingly at home by his favour.

Leycesters
forraine gain
by her Ma-
jesties favour.

And for his Lucre abroad upon the same cause, I leave to other men to conceive, what it may bee, since the beginning of her Majesties raigne, the times whereof and condition of all Christendome hath beene such, as all the Princes and Potentates round about us, have beene constrained at one time or other, to sue to her hignesse for ayd, grace, or favour: in all which sutes, men use not to forget (as you know) the parties most able by their credite, to further or let the same.

In particular onely this I can say, that I have heard of sundry French-men, that at such time as the treaty was betweene *France* and *England*, for the re-delivery of *Callis*, unto us againe, in the first yeare

of her Majesties raigne that now is, when the French-men were in great distresse and misery, and King *Philip* refused absolutely to make peace with them, except *Callis* were restored to *England* (whether for that purpose hee had now delivered the French hostages:) the French-men doe report (I say) that my Lord of *Leycester* stood them in great stead at that necessity for his reward, (which you may imagine was not small, for a thing of such importance,) and became a suter, that peace might bee concluded, with the release of *Callis* to the French: which was one of the most impious facts, (to say the truth), that ever could bee devised against his Common-wealth.

Leycesters
bribe for
betraying of
Callis.

A small matter in him (said the Gentleman) for in this hee did no more, but as Christ said of the Jewes: that they filled up the measure of their Fathers sinnes. And so if you read the story of King *Edwards* time, you shall find it most evident, that this mans Father before him, sould *Bulloigne* to the French by like treachery. For it was delivered up upon composition, without necessity or reason, the five and twenty of *April*, in the fourth yeare of King *Edward* the sixt, when hee (I meane Duke *Dudley*) had now put in the Tower the Lord Proteſtour, and thrust out of the Councell whom hee listed: as namely the Earles of *Arundell* and *Southampton* and so invaded the whole

Gentleman.

Leycesters
Father sould
Bulloigne.

Earles of
Arundel and
Southampton
put out of the
Councell by
D. *Dudley*.

government himselfe, to sell, spoile and dispose at his pleasure. Wherefore this is but naturall to my Lord of *Leycester* by discent, to make marchandize of the state, for his Grandfather *Edmund* also, was such a kind of *Copesman*.

Lawyer.

An evill race of Marchants for the Common-wealth (quoth the Lawyer) but yet, Sir, I pray you (said hee) expounde unto mee somewhat more at large, the nature of these licences which you named, as also the changing of lands with her Majesty, if you can set it downe any plainer: for they seeme, to bee things of excessive gaine: especially his way of gaining by offending her Majesty, or by her highnesse offence towards him, for it seemeth to bee a device above all skill or reason.

Leycesters
gaine by fall-
ing out with
her Majesty.

Not so (quoth the Gentleman) for you know that every falling out must have an attonement againe, whereof hee being sure by the many and puisant meanes of his friends in Court, as I have shewed before, who shall not give her Majesty rest untill it bee done: then for this attonement, and in perfect reconciliacon on her Majesties part, she must grant my Lord some sute or other, which hee will have alwayes ready provided for that purpose, and this sute shall bee well able to reward his friends, that laboured for his reconcilment, and leave also a good remainder for

himself. And this is now so ordinary a practise with him, as all the Realm observeth the same, and disdaineth that her Majesty should bee so unworthily abused. For if her highnesse fall not out with him as often as hee desireth to gaine this way, then hee picketh some quarrell or other, to show himselfe discontented with her, so that one way or other, this gainefull reconciliation must bee made, and that often for his commodity. The like art hee exerciseth in inviting her Majesty to his banquettes and to his houses, where if she come, shee must grant him in sutes, ten times so much as the charge of all amount unto: so that *Robin* playeth the Broker in all his affaires, and maketh the uttermost penny of her Majestie every way.

Now for his change of lands, I thinke I have beene
 reasonable plaine before: yet for your fuller satisfaction, you shall understand his further dealing therein, to bee in this sort. Besides the good lands, and of ancient possession to the Crowne, procured at her Majesties hand, and used as before was declared: he useth the same trick for his worst lands, that hee possesseth any way, whether they come to him, by extort meanes and plaine oppression, or through maintenance & broken titles, or by cousenage of simple Gentlemen, to make him their heire or by what hard

Gentleman.

Leycesters
 fraudulent
 change of
 lands with
 her Majesty
 whereby hee
 hath notably
 endammaged
 the Crowne.

title or dishonest meanes so ever, (for hee practizeth store of such and thinketh little of the reckoning :) after hee hath tried them likewise to the uttermost touch, and letten them out to such as shall gaine but little by the bargain: then goeth hee and changeth the same with her Majesty for the best lands hee can pick out of the Crowne, to the end that hereby hee may both enforce her Majesty to the defence of his bad titles, and himselfe fill his coffers with the fines and uttermost commodity of both the lands.

Leycesters
licenses.

His licences doe stand thus: first hee got licence for certaine great numbers of cloaths, to bee transported out of this land, which might have beene an undoing to the Marchant subject, if they had not redeemed the same with great summes of money: so that it redounded to great dammage of all occupied about that kind of commodity. After that hee had the grant for carrying over of barrell staves and of some other such like wares. Then procured hee a Monopolie, for bringing in of sweet wines, oyles, currants, and the like: the gaine whereof is inestimable. Hee had also the forfeit of all wine that was to bee drawne above the old ordinary price: with licence to give authority to sell above that price; wherein Captaine *Horsey* was his instrument, by which meanes it is incredible what treasure and yearely rent was gathered of the Vintners throughout the land.

To this adde now his licence of silkes and velvets, which onely were enough to enrich the Major and Aldermen of *London*, if they were all decayed (as often I have heard divers Marchants affirme.) And his licence of alienation of lands, which (as in part I have opened before) serveth him not onely to excessive gaine, but also for an extreame scourge, wherewith to plague whom he pleaseth in the Realm. For seeing that without this licence, no man can buy, sell, passe, or alienate, any land that any wayes may bee drawne to that tenure, as holden in chiefe of the Prince: (as commonly now most land may) hee calleth into question whatsoever liketh him best, bee it never so cleare: and under this colour, not onely enricheth himselfe without all measure, but revengeth himselfe also, where hee will, without all order.

Silkes and
Velvets.

The Tyrannical
licence
of alienation.

Heare the Lawyer stood still a pretty while, biting his lip, as hee were astonished, and then said; Verily I have not heard so many and so apparant things or so odious, of any man that ever lived in our Commonwealth. And I marvaile much of my Lord of *Leycester*, that his Grandfathers fortune doth not move him much, who lost his head in the beginning of King *Henry* the eights dayes, for much lesse and fewer offences, in the same kind, committed in the time of King *Henry* the seventh: for hee was thought to bee

Lawyer.

Edmund
Dudley.

the inventour of these poolings and molestations, wherewith the people were burthened, in the latter dayes of the said King. And yet had hee great pretence of reason to alleaged for himselfe: in that these exactions were made to the Kings use, and not to his, (albeit no doubt) but his owne gaine was also there. Master *Stow* writeth in his Chronicle, that in the time of his imprisonment in the Tower, hee wrot a notable booke, intituled *The tree of Common-wealth*, which booke, the said *Stow* saith, that hee hath delivered to my Lord of *Leycester* many yeares agoe. And if the said booke bee so notable as Master *Stow* affirmeth: I marvaile, that his Lord in so many yeares, doth not publish the same, for the glory of his ancestors?

Edmund Dud-
leis booke
written in
the Tower.

Gentleman.

It may bee (said the Gentleman) that the secrets therein contained, bee such, as it seemeth good to my Lord, to use them onely himselfe, and to gather the fruit of that tree into his owne house alone. For if the tree of the Common-wealth in *Edmund Dudleis* booke, bee the Prince and his race: and the fruits to bee gathered from that tree, bee riches, honours, dignities, and preferments: then no doubt, but as the writer *Edmund* was cunning therein: so have his two followers, *Iohn* and *Robert*, well studied and practized the same, or rather have, exceeded and farre passed the authour himselfe. The one of them gathering so eagerly, and

with such vehemency, as hee was like to have broken downe the maine boughes for greedinesse: the other yet plucking and heaping so fast to himselfe and his friends, as it is and may bee, most justly doubted, that when they have cropped all they can, from the tree left them by their Father *Edmund* (I meane the race of King *Henry* the seventh :) then will they plucke up the Stemme it selfe, by the rootes, as unprofitable : and pitch in his place another Trunke (that is the line of *Huntington*) that may begin to feed anew, with fresh fruits againe, and so for a time content their appetites, untill of gatherers, they may become trees, (which is their finall purpose) to feed themselves at their owne discretion.

The sup-
planting of
the race of
Henry the 7.

The inserting
of *Huntington*.

And howsoever this bee, it cannot bee denied, but that *Edmund Dudleis* brood, have learned by this booke, and by other meanes, to bee more cunning gatherers, then ever their first progenitor was that made the booke. First for that hee made profession to gather to his Prince (though wickedly) and these men make demonstration, that they have gathered for themselves : and that with much more iniquity. Secondly, for that *Edmud Dudley* though hee got himselfe neare about the tree, yet was hee content to stand on the ground, and to serve himselfe from the tree, as commodity was offered : but his children not esteeming

Edmund Dud-
leis broode
more cunning
then himselfe.

Northumberland and Leicester with their Prince will not bee ruled.

that safe gathering, will needs mount aloft upon the tree, to pull, crophe, and ruffle at their pleasure. And as in this second point the Sonne *John Dudley* was more subtile, then *Edmund* the Father: so in a third point, the Nephew *Robert Dudley* is more crafty then they both. For that, hee seeing the evill successe of those two that went before him, hee hath provided together so much in convenient time and to make himselfe therewith so fat and strong, (wherein the other two failed) as hee will never bee in danger more, to bee called to any accompt for the same.

Lawyer.

In good faith Sir (quoth the Lawyer) I thanke you heartily, for this pleasant discourse upon *Edmund Dudleis* tree of Common-wealth. And by your opinion, my Lord of *Leycester* is the most learned of all his kindred, and a very cunning Logitioner indeed, that can draw for himselfe so commodious conclusions, out of the perillous premisses of his progenitors.

Gentleman.

Leycester
Master of art
and a cunning
Logitioner.

No marvaile (quoth the Gentleman) for that his L. is Master of Art in *Oxford*, and Chancelour besides of the same Vniversity, where hee hath store (as you know) of many fine wits and good Logitioners at his commandement: and where hee learneth not onely the rules and art of cunning gathering: but also the very practize (as I have touched before) seeing there is no one Colledge, or other thing of commodity within that

place, where hence hee hath not pulled, whatsoever was possibly to bee gathered, either by art or violence.

Touching *Oxford* (said I) for that I am an Vniuersity man my selfe, and have both experience of *Cambridge*, and good acquaintance with diuers students of the other University: I can tell you enough, but in fine all tendeth to this conclusion, that by his Chancellourship, is cancelled almost all hope of good in that Vniuersity: and by his protection, it is like soone to come to destruction. And surely if there were no other thing, to declare the oddes and difference betwixt him, and our Chancellour, (whom hee cannot beare, for that every way hee seeth him, to passe him in all honour and vertue) it were sufficient to behold the present state of the two Vniuersities, whereof they are heads and governours.

Schollar.

Leycesters
abusing and
spoiling of
Oxford.

The Lord
Treasurer.

For our owne, I will not say much, lest I might perhaps seeme partiall: but let the thing speake for it selfe. Consider the fruit of the Garden, and thereby you may judge of the Gardiners diligence. Looke upon the Bishopricks, Pastorships, and Pulpits of *England*, and see whence principally they have received their furniture for advancement of the Gospell. And on the contrary side, looke upon the Seminaries of Papistry at *Rome* and *Rhems*, upon the Colledges of

Cambridge.

Jesuists, and other companies of Papists beyond the seas, and see where-hence they are, especially, fraught.

The Priests and Jesuists here executed within the land, and other that remaine either in prison, or abroad in corners : are they not all (in a manner) of that Vniversity ? I speake not to the disgrace of any good that remaine there, or that have issued out thence into the Lords Vineyard : but for the most part there, of this our time, have they not either gone beyond the seas, or left their places for discontentment in Religion, or els become serving men, or followed the bare name of Law or Physick, without profiting greatly therein, or furthering the service of God's Church or their Common-wealth ?

And where-hence (I pray you) ensueth all this, but by reason that the chiefe Governour thereof is an Atheist himselfe, and useth the place onely for gaine and spoile ? for here-hence it commeth, that all good order and discipline is dissolved in that place, the fervour of study extinguished : the publique Lectures abandoned (I meane of the more parte :) the Tavernes and Ordinary-tables frequented : the apparell of students growne monstuous : and the statutes and good ordinance, both of the Vniversity and of every Colledge and Hall in private, broken and infringed at my Lords good pleasure, without respect either of oath,

The disorders
of *Oxford* by
the wicked-
nesse of their
Chancellour.

custome, or reason to the contrary. The heads and officers are put in and out at his onely discretion : and the Schollars places either sould, or disposed by his letters, or by these of his servants and followers : nothing can bee had there, now, without present mony : it is as common buying and selling of places in that Vniversity, as of horses in *Smithfield* ; whereby the good and vertuous are kept out, and companions thrust in, fit to serve his Lord afterward, in all affaires that shall occurre.

And as for leases of farmes, Woods, Pastures, Leases.
 Personages, Benefices or the like, which belong any way to any part of the Vniversity, to let or bestow, these, his Lord and his Servants have so fleeced, shorne, and scraped already, that there remaineth, little to feed upon hereafter : albeit hee want not still his spies and intelligencers in the place, to advertise him from time to time, when any little new morsell is offered. And the Principall instruments, which for Leicester's
instruments.
 this purpose, hee hath had there before this, have beene two Physitians *Bayly* and *Culpeper*, both knowne Papists, a little while agoe, but now just of Galens religion, and so much the fitter for my Lords humour : for his Lordship doth alwayes covet, to bee furnished certaine chosen men about him, for divers affaires : as these two Galenists for agents in the Vniversity: *Dee*

and *Allen* (two Atheistes) for figuring and conjuring :
Iulio the Italian and *Lopas* the Jew, for poisoning, and
 for the art of destroying children in Womens bellies :
Verneis for murdering : *Digbies* for **Bawdes* : and the
 like in other occupations which his Lordship exer-
 ciseth.

* At *Digbies*
 house in
Warwickshire
Dame Lettice
 lay, and some
 other such
 peeces of
 pleasure.

Wherefore to returne to the speech where wee
 began : most cleare it is, that my Lord of *Leycester*
 hath meanes to gaine and gather also by the Vni-
 versity, as well as by the Country abroad. Wherin
 (as I am told) hee beareth himselfe so absolute a
 Lord, as if hee were their King, and not their Chan-
 cellour : Nay farre more then, if hee were the generall
 and particular founder of all the Colledges and other
 houses of the Vniversity : no man daring to contrary
 or interrupt the least word or signification of his will,
 but with his extreame danger : which is a proceeding
 more fit for *Phalaris* the Tyrant, or some Governour
 in *Tartary*, then for a Chancellour of a learned Vniver-
 sity.

Lawyer.

To this answered the Lawyer, for my Lords wrath,
 towards such as will not stand to his judgement and
 opinion, I can my selfe bee a sufficient witnesse : who
 having had often occasion to deale for composition
 of matters, betwixt his Lordship and others, have
 seen by experience, that alwayes they have sped best,

who stood lest in contention with him, whatsoever their cause were. For as a great and violent river, the more it is stopped or contraried, the more it riseth and swelleth bigge, and in the end, dejecteth with more force the thing that made resistance: so his Lordship being the great and mighty Potentate of this Realme, and accustomed now to have his will in all things, cannot beare to bee crossed or resisted by any man, though it were in his owne necessary defence.

The perill of
standing with
Leycester in
any thing.

Hereof I have seene examples, in the causes of *Snowden* forrest in *Wales*, of *Denbighe*, of *Killingworth*, of *Drayton* and others: where the parties that had interest, or thought themselves wronged, had beene happy, if they had yeelded at the first to his Lordships pleasure, without further question: for then had they escaped much trouble, charges, displeasure, and vexation, which by resistance they incurred, to their great ruine, (and *losse of life to some) and in the end were faine also to submit themselves unto his will, with farre worse conditions, then in the beginning were offered unto them, which thing was pittifull indeed to behold, but yet such is my Lords disposition.

* Poore men
resisting
Warwicks
inclosure at
North-hall
were hanged
for his pleasure
by
Leycesters
authority.

A noble disposition (quoth the Gentleman,) that I must give him my Coat if hee demand the same, and that quickly also, for feare least if I staggar or make doubt thereof, hee compell me to yeeld both coat and

Gentleman.

Great
Tyranny.

doublet in penance of my stay. I have read of some such Tyrants abroad in the World: Marry their end was alwayes according to their life, as it is very like that it will bee also in this man, for that there is small hope of his amendment, and God passeth not over commonly such matters unpunished in this life, as well as in the life to come.

But I pray you Sir, seeing mention is now made of the former oppressions, so much talked of throughout the Realme, that you will take the paines, to explaine the substance thereof unto mee: for albeit in generall, every man doth know the same, and in heart doe detest the Tyranny thereof: yet wee abroad in the Countrey, doe not understand it so well and distinctly as you that bee Lawyers, who have seene and understood the whole processe of the same.

Lawyer.

The case of *Killingworth* and *Denbigh*, (said the Lawyer) are much alike in matter and manner of proceeding though different in time place and importance. For that the Lordship of *Denbigh* in *North-wales*, being given unto him by her Majesty a great while agoe at the beginning of his rising, (which is a Lordship of singular great importance, in that Countrey, having (as I have heard) well neere two hundred worshipfull Gentlemen free-holders to the same :) the tenants of the place considering the present state of things, and

The Lordship
of *Denbigh*
and *Leycesters*
oppression
used therein.

having learned, the hungry disposition of their new Lord: made a common purse of a thousand pounds, to present him withall, at his first entrance. Which though hee received (as hee refuseth nothing.) Yet accompted hee the summe of small effect for satisfaction of his appetite: and therefore applied himselfe, not onely to make the uttermost that hee could by leases, and such like wayes of commodity: but also would needs enforce the freeholders, to raise their old rent of the Lordship, from two hundreth and fifty pounds a yeare or thereabouts (at which rate hee had received the same in guift from her Majesty,) unto eight or nine hundreth pounds by the yeare. For that hee had found out (forsooth) an old record, (as hee said) whereby hee could prove, that in ancient time long past, that Lordship had yeelded so much old rent: and therefore hee would now enforce the present tenants, to make up so much againe upon their lands, which they thought was against all reason for them to doe: but my Lord perforce, would have it so, and in the end compelled them to yeeld to his will, to the impoverishing of all the whole Countrey about.

The like proceeding hee used with the tenants about *Killingworth*, where hee receiving the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in guift of twenty foure pounds yearely rent or there about, hath made

The manner
of *Killing-
worth* and
Leycesters
oppression
there.

it now better then five hundreth by yeare: by an old record also, found by great fortune in the hole of a wall as is given out (for hee hath, singular good luck alwayes in finding out records for his purpose) by vertue whereof, hee hath taken from the tenants, round about, their Lands, Woods, Pastures, and Commons, to make him selfe Parkes, Chaces, and other commodities therewith, to the subversion of many a good family, which was maintained there, before this devourer set foot in that Countrey.

The case of
Snowden
forest most
pittifull.

But the matter of *Snowden* Forest, doth passe all the rest, both for cunning and cruelty: the tragedy whereof was this hee had learned by his intelligencers abroad, (wherof hee hath great store in every part of the Realme) that there was a goodly ancient Forest in *North-wales*, which hath almost infinite borderers about the same: for it lieth in the midst of the Countrey, beginning at the Hills of *Snowden* (wherof it hath his name) in *Carnarvan-shire*, and reacheth every way towards divers other shires. When my Lord heard of this, hee entered presently into the conceit of a singular great pray: and going to her Majesty, signified that her highnesse was often times abusd, by the incroching of such as dwelt upon her Forests, which was necessary to bee restrained: and therefore beseeched her Majesty, to bestow upon him the incrochments onely, which hee

should bee able to find out, upon the forest of *Snowden*, which was granted.

And thereupon hee chose out Commissioners fit for the purpose, and sent them into *Wales*, with the like commission, as a certaine Emperour was wont to give his Magistrates, when they departed from him to governe, as *Suetonius* writeth: *Scitis quid velim & quibus opus habeo*. You know what I would have, and what I have need of. Which recommendation, these Commissioners taking to heart, omitted no diligence in execution of the same: and so going into *Wales*, by such meanes as they used, of setting one man to accuse another: brought quickly all the Countrey round about in three or foure shires, within the compasse of forest ground: and so entred upon the same, for my Lord of *Leycester*. Whereupon, when the people were amazed: and expected what order my Lord himselfe would take therein: his Lord was so farre of from refusing any part of that, which his Commissioners had presented and offered him: as hee would yet further stretch the Forest beyond the Sea, into the Ile of *Anglesey*, and make that also within his compas and bounder.

An old Tyrannicall commission.

A ridiculous demonstration of excessive avarice.

Which when the commonalty saw, and that they profited nothing, by their complaining and crying out of this Tyranny: they appointed to send some certaine number of themselves, to *London*, to make supplication

to the Prince: and so they did: Choosing out for that purpose a dozen Gentlemen, and many more of the Commons of the Countrey of *Llin*, to deale for the whole. Who comming to *London* and exhibiting a most humble supplication to her Majesty for redresse of their oppression: received an answere by the procurement of my Lord of *Leycester*, that they should have justice, if the commonalty would returne home to their houses, and the Gentlemen remaine there, to sollicite the cause. Which as soone as they had yeelded unto, the Gentlemen were all taken and cast into prison, and there kept for a great space, and afterward were sent downe to *Ludlow*, (as the place most eminent of all these Countries) there to weare papers of perjury, and receive other punishments of infamy, for their complaining: which punishments notwithstanding, afterward upon great sute of the parties and their friends, were turned into great fines of money, which they were constrained to pay, and yet besides to agree also with my Lord of *Leycester* for their owne landes, acknowledging the same to bee his, and so to buy it of him againe.

A singular
oppression.

Whereby not onely these private Gentlemen, but all the whole Countrey there about, was and is (in a manner) utterly undone. And the participation of this injury, reacheth so farre and wide, and is so generall

in these parts: as you shall scarce find a man that commeth from that coast, who feeleth not the smart thereof: being either impoverished, beggered, or ruinated thereby.

Whereby I assure you that the hatred of all that Countrey, is so universall and vehement against my Lord: as I thinke never thing created by God, was so odious to that Nation, as the very name of my Lord of *Leycester* is. Which his Lordship well knowing, I doubt not, but that hee will take heed, how hee goe thither to dwell, or send thither his posterity.

Leycester
extreamely
hated in
Wales.

For his posterity (quoth the Gentleman) I suppose hee hath little cause to bee solicitous: for that God himselfe taketh care commonly, that goods and honours so gotten and maintained, as his bee, shall never trouble the third heire. Marry for himselfe, I confesse (the matter standing as you say) that hee hath reason to forbear that Countrey, and to leave of his building begunne at *Denbigh*, as I heare say hee hath done. For that the universall hatred of a people, is a perilous matter. And if I were in his Lordships case, I should often thinke of the end of *Nero*: who after all his glory, upon fury of the people was adjudged to have his head thrust into a Pillory, and so to bee beaten to death, with rods and thonges.

Gentleman.

The end of
Tyrants.

Nero.

Or rather I should feare the successe of *Vitellius*, *Vitellius.*

the third Emperour after *Nero*, who for his wickednesse and oppression of the people, was taken by them at length, when fortune began to faile him, and led out of his palace naked, with hookes of Iron fastened in his flesh, and so drawne through the Citie with infamy, where, loden in the streets with filth and ordure cast upon him, and a pricke put under his Chinne, to the end hee should not looke downe or hide his face, was brought to the banke of *Tyber*, and there after many hundred wounds received, was cast into the River. So implacable a thing is the furour of a multitude, when it is once stirred, and hath place of revenge. And so heavy is the hand of God upon Tyrants in this World, when it pleaseth his divine Majesty to take revenge of the same.

A most terrible revenge taken upon a Tyrant.

I have read in *Leander*, in his description of *Italy*, how that in *Spoletto* (if I bee not deceived) the chiefe City of the Countrey of *Vmbria* there was a strange Tyrant : who in the time of his prosperity, contemned all men, and forbare to injury no man, that came within his clawes : esteeming himselfe sure enough, for ever being called to render accompt in this life, and for the next hee cared little. But God upon the sudden turned upside down the wheele of his felicity, and cast him into the peoples hands : who tooke him, and bound his naked body upon a planke, in the market

place, with a fire and iron tonges by him : and then made proclamation, that seeing this man was not otherwise able to make satisfaction, for the publique injuries that hee had done : every private person annoyed by him, should come in order, and with the hoat burning tonges there ready, should take of his flesh so much, as was correspondent to the injury received, as indeed they did untill the miserable man gave up the ghost, and after to : as this authour writeth.

But to the purpose : seeing my Lord careth little for such examples, and is become so hardy now, as hee maketh no accompt to injury and oppresse whole Countries and Commonalties together : it shall bee bootles to speake of his proceedings towards particular men, who have not so great strength to resist, as a multitude hath. And yet I can assure you, that there are so many and so pittiful things published dayly of his Tyranny in this kind : as doe move great compassion towards the party that doe suffer, and horreur against him, who shameth not dayly to offer such injury.

Leycesters
oppression of
particular
men.

As for example : whose heart would not bleed to heare the case before mentioned, of Master *Robinson* of *Staffordshire* : a proper yong Gentleman, and well given both in Religion and other vertues. Whose Father

Master
Robinson.

died at *Newhaven* in her Majesties service, under this mans brother the Earle of *Warwick*: and recommended at his death, this his eldest Sonne, to the speciall protection of *Leycester* and his Brother, whose servant also this *Robinson* hath beene, from his youth upward, and spent the most of his living in his service. Yet notwithstanding all this, when *Robinsons* lands were intangled with a certaine *Londoner*, upon interest for his former maintenance in their service, whose title my Lord of *Leycester* (though craftily, yet not covertly) under *Ferris* his cloak, had gotten to himselfe: hee ceased not to pursue the poore Gentleman even to imprisonment, arraignment, and sentence of death, for greedines of the said living: together with the vexation of his brother in law Master *Harcourt* and all other his friends, upon pretence, forsooth, that there was a man slaine by *Robinsons* party in defence of his owne possession against *Leycesters* intruders, that would by violence breake into the same.

Master
Harcourt.

What shall I speake of others, whereof there would bee no end? as of his dealing with Master *Richard Lee* for his Manor of *Hooknorton* (if I faile not in the name: (with Master *Ludowick Grivell*, by seeking to bereave him of all his living at once, if the drift had taken place? with *George Witney*, in the behalfe of Sir *Henry Leigh*, for inforcing him to forgoe the Con-

Master
Richard Lee.
Ludowick
Grivell.

George Witney.

trollership of *Woodstock*, which hee holdeth by patent from King *Henry* the seventh? With my Lord *Barkley* Lord Barkley. whom hee enforced to yeeld up his lands to his brother *Warwick*, which his ancestors had held quietly for almost two hundreth yeares together?

What shall I say of his intollerable Tyranny upon the last Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for Doctor *Julio* his sake, and that in so fowle a matter? Upon Sir *John Throgmarton*, whom hee brought pittifully to his grave before his time, by continuall vexations, for a peece of faithfull service done by him to his Countrey, and to all the line of King *Henry* against this mans Father, in King *Edward* and Queene *Maries* dayes? Vpon divers of the *Lanes* for one mans sake of that name Lane. before mentioned, that offered to take *Killingworth Castle*? upon some of the *Giffords*, and other for *Throgmartons* sake? (for that is also his Lords disposition, for one mans cause whom hee brooketh not, to plague a whole generation, that any way pertaineth, or is allied to the same :) his endlesse persecuting Sir *Drew Drewry*, Sir Drew Drewry. and many other Courtiers both men and women? All these (I say) and many others, who dayly suffer injuries, rapines and oppressions at his hands, throughout the Realme, what should it availe to name them in this place: seeing neither his Lord careth any thing for the same, neither the parties

agrieved are like to attaine any least release of affliction thereby, but rather double oppression for their complaining.

The present
state of my
Lord of
Leycester.

Leycesters
Wealth.

Leycesters
Strength.

Leycesters
Cunning.

Leycesters
disposition.

Wherefore, to returne againe whereas wee began, you see by this little, who, and how great, and what manner of man, my Lord of *Leycester* is this day, in the state of *England*. You see and may gather, in some part, by that which hath beene spoken, his wealth, his strength, his cunning, his disposition. His Wealth is excessive in all kind of riches for a private man, and must needs bee much more, then any body lightly can imagine, for the infinite wayes hee hath had of gaine, so many yeares together. His Strength and power is absolute and irresistable, as hath beene shewed, both in Chamber, Court, Councell, and Countrey. His Cunning in plotting and fortifying the same, both by Force and Fraud, by Mines and Contermine, by Trenches, Bulwarkes, Flankers and Rampiers: by Friends, Enemies, Allies, Servants, Creatures, and Dependents, or any other that may serve his turne: is very rare and singular. His Disposition to Cruelty, Murder, Treason and Tyranny: and by all these to Supreame Sovereignty over other: is most evident and cleare. And then judge you whether her Majesty that now raigneth (whose life and prosperity, the Lord in mercy long preserve,) have not just cause to feare,

in respect of these things onely: if there were no other other particulars to prove his aspiring intent besides?

No doubt (quoth the Lawyer) but these are great *Lawyer.* matters, in the question of such a cause as is a Crowne. And wee have seene by example, that the least of these foure, which you have here named, or rather some little branch contained in any of them, hath beene sufficient to found just suspition, distrust *Causes of just feare for her Majesty.* or jealousie, in the heads of most wise Princes, towards the proceedings of more assured subjects, then my Lord of *Leycester*, in reason may bee presumed to bee. For that the safety of a state and Prince, standeth not onely in the readines and hability of resisting open attempts, when they shall fall out: but also (and that much more as Statistes write) in a certaine provident watchfulnesse, of preventing all possibilities and likelihoods of danger of suppression: for that no Prince commonly, will put himselfe to the courtesie of an other man (bee hee never so obliged) whether hee shall retaine his Crown or no: seeing the cause of a Kingdome, acknowledgeth neither kindred, duty, faith, friendship, nor society.

I know not whether I doe expound or declare my selfe well or no, but my meaning is, that whereas every Prince hath two points of assurance from his subject, the one, in that hee is faithfull and lacketh will, to

A point of
necessary
policy for a
Prince.

annoie his soveraigne : the other, for that hee is weake and wanteth ability, to doe the same : the first is alwayes of more importance than the second, and consequently more to bee eyed and observed in policy : for that our will may bee changed at our pleasure, but not our ability.

Considering then, upon that which hath beene said and specified before, how that my Lord of *Leycester*, hath possessed himselfe of all the strength, powers and sinewes of the Realme, hath drawne all to his owne direction, and hath made his party so strong as it seemeth not resistable : you have great reason to say, that her Majesty may justly conceive some doubt, for that if his will were according to his power, most assured it is, that her Majesty were not in safety.

Schollar.

Say not so, good Sir (quoth I) for in such a case truly, I would repose little upon his will, which is so many wayes apparant, to bee most insatiable of ambition. Rather would I thinke that as yet his ability serveth not, either for time, place, force, or some other circumstance : then that any part of good will should want in him : seeing that not onely his desire of soveraignty : but also his intent and attempt to aspire to the same, is sufficiently declared (in my conceit) by the very particulars of his power and plots already set downe. Which, if you please to have the patience, to

heare a Schollars argument, I will prove by a Principle of our Philosóphy.

For if it bee true which *Aristotle* sayeth, there is no agent so simple in the World, which worketh not for some finall end, (as the bird buildeth not her nest but to dwell and hatch her yong ones therein :) and not onely this: but also that the same agent, doth alwayes frame his worke according to the proportion of his intended end: (as when the Fox or Badger maketh a wide earth or denne, it is a signe that hee meaneth to draw thither great store of pray :) then must wee also in reason thinke, that so wise and politick an agent, as is my Lord of *Leycester* for himselfe, wanteth not his end in these plottings and preparations of his: I meane an end proportionable in greatnesse to his preparations. Which end, can bee no lesse nor meaner then Supream Soveraignty, seeing his provision and furniture doe tend that way, and are in every point fully correspondent to the same.

What meaneth his so dilligent besieging of the Princes person? his taking up the wayes and passages about her? his insolency in Court? his singularity in Councell? his violent preparation of strength abroad? his enriching of his Complices? the banding of his faction, with the aboundance of friends everywhere? what doe these things signifie (I say) and so many

A philosophi-
call argument
to prove *Ley-*
cesters intent of
soveraignty.

The prepara-
tions of *Ley-*
cester declare
his intended
end.

other, as you have well noted and mentioned before : but onely his intent and purpose of Supremacy ? What did the same things portend in times past in his Father, but even that which now they portend in the Sonne. Or how should wee thinke, that the Sonne hath an other meaning in the very same actions, then had his Father before him, whose steps hee followeth.

How the
Duke of
Northumber-
land dissem-
bled his end.

I remember I have heard, often times of divers ancient and grave men in *Cambridge*, how that in King *Edwards* dayes the Duke of *Northumberland* this mans Father, was generally suspected of all men, to meane indeed as afterward hee shewed, especially when hee had once joyned with the house of *Suffolke*, and made himselfe a principall of that faction by marriage. But yet for that hee was potent, and protested everywhere, and by all occasions his great love, duty and speciall care, above all others, that hee bare towards his Prince and Countrey: no man durst accuse him openly, untill it was to late to withstand his power: (as commonly it falleth out in such affaires) and the like is evident in my Lord of *Leycesters* actions now (albeit to her Majesty; I doubt not, but that hee will pretend and protest, as his Father did to her Brother,) especially now after his open association with the faction of *Huntington*: which no lesse impugneth under this mans protection, the whole line of *Henry* the seventh for right of the

Crowne, then the House of *Suffolke* did under his Father the particular progeny of King *Henry* the eight.

Nay rather much more (quoth the Gentleman) for that I doe not read in King *Edwards* raigne, (when the matter was in plotting notwithstanding) that the House of *Suffolke* durst ever make open claime to the next succession. But now the House of *Hastings* is become so confident, upon the strength and favour of their fautors, as they dare both plot, practise, and pretend, all at once, and feare not to set out their title, in every place, where as they come.

Gentleman.

The boldnes
of the titles
of Clarence.

And doe they not feare the statute (said the Lawyer) so rigorous in this point, as it maketh the matter treason to determine of titles!

Lawyer.

No, they need not (quoth the Gentleman) seeing their party is so strong and terrible, as no man dare accuse them: seeing also they well know, that the procurement of that statute, was onely to endanger or stop the mouths of the true Successours, whiles themselves, in the meane space, went about underhand, to establish their owne ambushment.

Gentleman.

The abuse of
the statute
for silence in
the true suc-
cession.

Well, (quoth the Lawyer) for the pretence of my Lord of *Huntington* to the Crowne, I will not stand with you, for that it is a matter sufficiently knowne and seene throughout the Realme. As also that my Lord of *Leycester* is at this day, a principall favourer

Lawyer.

and patron of that cause, albeit some yeares past, hee were an earnest adversary and enemy to the same. But yet I have heard some friends of his, in reasoning of these matters, deny stoutly a point or two, which you have touched here, and doe seeme to believe the same.

Two excuses
alleged by
Leycesters
friends.

And that is, first, that howsoever my Lord of *Leycester* doe meane to helpe his friend, when time shall serve, yet, pretendeth hee nothing to the Crowne himselfe. The second is, that whatsoever may bee ment for the title, or compassing the Crowne after her Majesties death, yet nothing is intended during her raigne. And of both these points they alledge reasons.

As for the first, that my Lord of *Leycester* is very well knowne to have no title to the Crowne himselfe, either by discent in bloud, alliance or otherwayes. For the second, that his Lord hath no cause to bee a Male-content in the present government, nor hope for more preferment, if my Lord of *Huntington* were King to morrow next, then hee receiveth now at her Majesties hands: having all the Realme (as hath beene shewed) at his owne disposition.

Gentleman.

For the first (quoth the Gentleman) whether hee meane the Crowne for himselfe, or for his friend, it importeth not much: seeing both wayes it is evident, that hee meaneth to have all at his owne disposition.

And albeit now for the avoiding of envy, hee give it out, as a crafty Fox, that hee meaneth not but to runne with other men, and to hunt with *Huntington* and other hounds in the same chase; yet it is not unlike, but that hee will play the Beare, when hee commeth to deviding of the pray, and will snatch the best part to himselfe. Yea and these selfe same persons of his traine and faction, whom you call his friends, though in publike, to excuse his doings, and to cover whole plot, they will and must deny the matters to be so meant: yet otherwise they both thinke, hope and know the contrary, and will not stick in secret to speake it, and among themselves, it is their talke of consolation.

Whether
Leycester
meane the
Crowne sin-
cerely for
Huntington
or for him-
selfe.

The words of his speciall Councillour the Lord *North*, are knowne, which hee uttered to his trusty *Pooly*, upon the receipt of a letter from Court, of her Majesties displeasure towards him, for his being a witnesse at *Leycesters* second marraige with Dame *Lettice* (although I know hee was not ignorant of the first) at *Wanstead*: of which displeasure, this Lord making far lesse accompt then, in reason hee should, of the just offence of his soveraigne, said: that for his owne part hee was resolved to sinke or swimme with my Lord of *Leycester*: who (saith hee) if once the Cards may come to shuffling (I will use but his very

The words
of the Lord
North, to
Master *Pooly*.

Pooly told this
to Sir *Robert*
Iermine.

owne words) I make no doubt but hee alone shall beare away the Bucklers.

The words of
Sir *Thomas*
Layton brother
in law to
my Lord.

The words also of Sir *Thomas Layton* to Sir *Henry Nevile*, walking upon the *Tarresse* at *Windsor* are knowne, who told him, after long discourse of their happy conceived Kingdome, that hee doubted not but to see him one day, hold the same office in *Windsor*, of my Lord of *Leycester*, which now my Lord did hold of the Queene. Meaning thereby the goodly office of Constablenesship, with all Royalties and honours belonging to the same, which now the said Sir *Henry* exerciseth onely as Deputy to the Earle. Which was plainely to signifie, that, hee doubted not but to see my Lord of *Leycester* one day King, or els his other hope could never possibly take effect or come to passe.

The words
of Mistresse
Anne West
sister unto
this holy
Countesse.

To the same point, tended the words of Mistresse *Anne West* Dame *Lettice* Sister, unto the Lady *Anne Askew* in the great Chamber, upon a day when her Brother *Robert Knowles* had danced disgratiously and scornefully before the Queene in presence of the *French*. Which thing for that her Majesty tooke to proceed of will in him, as for dislike of the strangers in presence, and for the quarrell of his sister *Essex*; it pleased her highnesse to check him for the same, with addition of a reproachfull word or two (full well deserved) as though done for despite of the forced

absence, from that place of honour, of the good old Gentlewoman (I mitigate the words) his Sister. Which words, the other yonger twigge receiving in deepe duden, brake forth in great choler to her fore-named companion, and said, that shee nothing doubted, but that one day shee should see her Sister, upon whom the Queene railed now so much (for so it pleased her to tearme her Majesties sharp speech) to sit in her place and throne, being much worthier of the same, for her qualities and rare vertues, then was the other. Which undutifull speech, albeit, it were over heard and condemned of divers that sat about them: yet none durst ever report the same to her Majesty: as I have heard sundry Courtiers affirm, in respect of the revenge which the reporters should abide at my Lord of *Leycesters* hands, when so ever the matter should come to light.

And this is now concerning the opinion and secret speechs of my Lords owne friends, who cannot but utter their conceipt and judgement in time and place convenient, whatsoever they are willed to give out publikely to the contrary, for deceiving of such as will believe faire painted words, against evident and manifest demonstration of reason.

I say reason, for that if none of these signes and tokens were, none of these preparations nor any of

Three arguments of
Leycesters
meaning for
himselfe
before
Huntington.

these speeches and detections, by his friends that know his heart : yet in force of plaine reason, I could alleadge unto you three arguments onely, which to any man of intelligence, would easily perswade and give satisfaction, that my Lord of *Leycester* meaneth best and first for himselfe in this sute. Which three arguments, for that you seeme to bee attent. I will not stick to runne over in all brevity.

The first
argument the
Nature of
ambition.

And the first is the very nature and quality of ambition it selfe, which is such, (as you know) that it never stayeth, but passeth from degree to degree, and the more it obtaineth, the more it covereth, and the more esteemeth it selfe, both worthy and able to obtaine. And in our matter that now wee handle, even as in wooing, hee that sueth to a Lady for an other, and obtaineth her good will, entereth easily into conceipt of his owne worthines thereby, and so commonly into hope of speeding himselfe, while hee speaketh for his friend: so much more in Kingdomes; hee that seeth himselfe of power to put the Crowne of an other mans head, will quickly step to the next degree which is, to set it of his owne, seeing that alwayes the charity of such good men, is wont to bee so orderly, as (according to the precept) it beginneth with itselfe first.

Addē to this, that ambition is jealous, suspicious, and fearefull of it selfe, especially when it is joyned

with a conscience loaden with the guilt of many crimes, whereof hee would bee loth to bee called to accompt, or bee subject to any man that might by authority take review of his life and actions, when it should please him. In which kind, seeing my Lord of *Leycester* hath so much to encrease his feare, as before hath beene shewed by his wicked dealings: it is not like, that ever hee will put himselfe to an other mans courtesie, for passing his audiēt in particular reckonings, which hee can no way answer or satisfie: but rather will stand upon the grosse Summe, and generall *Quietus est*, by making himselfe chiefe Auditour and Master of all accompts for his owne part in this life, howsoever hee doe in the next: whereof such humours have little regard. And this is for the nature of ambition in it selfe.

The second argument may bee taken from my Lords particular disposition: which is such, as may give much light also to the matter in question: being a disposition so well liking and inclined to a Kingdome, as it hath beene tampering about the same, from the first day that hee came in favour. First by seeking openly to marry with the Queenes Majesty herselfe, and so to draw the Crowne upon his owne head, and to his posteritie. Secondly, when that attempt tooke not place, then hee gave it out, as hath beene shewed

The second
argument.
Leycesters
particular
disposition.

Leycesters
disposition to
tamper for a
Kingdome.

I meane the
noble old
Earle of
Pembrooke.

The unduti-
full devise of
Naturall
issue, in the
statute of
succession.

before, how that hee was privily contracted to her Majesty (wherein as I told you his dealing before for satisfaction of a stranger, so let him with shame and dishonour remember now also, the spectacle hee secretly made for the perswading of a subject and Councillour of great honour in the same cause) to the end that if her highnesse should by any way have miscarried, then hee might have entituled any one of his owne brood, (whereof hee hath store in many places as is knowne) to the lawfull succession of the Crowne, under colour of that privy and secret marriage, pretending the same to bee by her Majesty: wherein hee will want no witnesses to depose what hee will. Thirdly, when hee saw also that this devise was subject to danger, for that his privy contract might bee denied, more easily, then hee able justly to prove the same, after her Majesties discease: hee had a new fetch to strengthen the matter and that was to cause these words of (*Naturall issue*) to bee put into the statute of succession for the Crowne, against all order and custome of our Realme, and against the knowne common stile of law, accustomed to bee used in statutes of such matter: whereby hee might bee able after the death of her Majesty to make legitimate to the Crowne, any one bastard of his owne by any of so many hacknies as he keepeth, affirming it to bee the

Naturall issue of her Majesty by himselfe. For no other reason can bee imagined why the ancient usual words of, *Lawfull issue* should so cunningly bee changed into *Naturall issue*; Thereby not onely to indanger our whole Realme with new quarrels of succession but also to touch (as farre as in him lieth) the Royall honour of his soveraigne, who hath beene to him but to bountifull a Princesse.

Fourthly, when after a time these fetches and devises, began to bee discovered, hee changed streight his course, and turned to the Papists, and Scottish faction, pretending the marriage of the Queene in prison. But yet after this againe, finding therein not such successe as contented him throughly, and having in the meane space a new occasion offered of baite: hee betooke himselfe fiftly to the party of *Huntington*: having therein (no doubt) as good meaning to himselfe, as his Father had by joyning with *Suffolke*. Marry yet of late, hee hath cast a new about, once againe, for himselfe in secret, by treating the marriage of yong *Arbella*, with his Sonne intituled the Lord *Denbigh*.

So that by this wee see the disposition of this man bent wholly to a scepter. And albeit in right, title and discent of bloud (as you say) hee can justly claime neither Kingdome nor Cotage (considering either the

The marriage
of *Arbella*.

basenesse or disloyalty of his Ancestours:) if in respect of his present state and power, and of his naturall pride, ambition, and crafty conveyance received from his Father: hee hath learned how to put himselfe first in possession of chiefe rule, under other pretences, and after to devise upon the title at his leasure.

The third
argument.
The nature
of the cause
itselfe.

But now to come to the third argument: I say more and above all this, that the nature and state of the matter it selfe, permitteth not, that my Lord of *Leycester* should meane sincerely the Crowne, for *Huntington*, especially seeing there hath passed betweene them so many yeares of dislike and enmity: which, albeit, for the time and present commodity, bee covered and pressed downe: yet by reason and experience wee know, that afterward when they shall deale together againe in matters of importance, and when jealousie shall bee joyned to other circumstances of their actions: it is impossible that the former mislike should not breake out in farre higher degree, then ever before.

The nature
of old recon-
ciled enmity.

As wee saw in the examples of reconciliation, made betwixt this mans Father and *Edward* Duke of *Somerset*, bearing rule under King *Edward* the sixt: and betweene *Richard* of *Yorke*, and *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, bearing rule in the time of King *Henry* the sixt. Both which Dukes of *Somerset*, after reconciliation with their old, crafty and ambitious enemies, were

brought by the same to their destruction soone after. Whereof I doubt not, but my Lord of *Leycester* will take good heed, in joyning by reconciliation with *Huntington*, after so long a breach: and will not bee so improvident, as to make him his soveraigne, who now is but his dependent. Hee remembreth too well the successe of the Lord *Stanley* who helped King *Henry* the seventh to the Crowne: of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who did the same for *Richard* the third: of the Earle of *Warwick*, who set up King *Edward* the fourth and of the three *Percies*, who advanced to the Scepter King *Henry* the fourth. All which Noble men upon occasions that after fell out: were rewarded with death, by the selfe same Princes, whom they had preferred.

And that not without reason as Siegnior *Machavell* my Lords Councillour affirmeth. For that such Princes, afterward can never give sufficient satisfaction to such friends, for so great a benefit received. And consequently, least upon discontentment, they may chance doe as much for others against them, as they have done for them against others: the surest way is, to recompence them, with such a reward, as they shall never after bee able to complaine of.

The reason of
Machavell.

Wherefore I can never thinke that my Lord of *Leycester* will put himselfe in danger of the like successe at *Huntingtons* hands: but rather will follow the plot

The meaning
of the Duke
of Northum-
berland with
Suffolke.

of his owne Father, with the Duke of *Suffolke*, whom no doubt, but hee meant onely to use for a pretext and helpe, whereby to place himselfe in supream dignity, and afterward whatsoever had befallen of the state, the others head could never have come to other end, then it enjoyed. For if *Queene Mary* had not cut it off, *King Iohn* of *Northumberland*, would have done the same in time, and so all men doe well know, that were privy to any of his cunning dealings.

South-house.

And what *Huntingtons* secret opinion of *Leycester* is (notwithstanding this outward shew of dependance) it was my chance to learne, from the mouth of a speciall man of that hasty King, who was his Ledger or Agent in *London*; and at a time falling in talke of his Masters title, declared, that hee had heard him divers times in secret, complaine to his Lady (*Leycesters* Sister) as greatly fearing that in the ende, hee would offer him wrong, and pretend some title for himselfe.

Lawyer.

Well (quoth the Lawyer) it seemeth by this last point, that these two Lords, are cunning practisioners in the art of dissimulation: but for the former whereof you speake, in truth I have heard men of good discourse affirme, that the Duke of *Northumberland* had strange devises in his head, for deceiving of *Suffolke* (who was nothing so fine as himselfe) and for bringing the Crowne to his owne family. And among other

The meaning
of the D. of
Northumber-
land towards
the D of
Suffolke.

devises it is thought, that hee had most certaine intention to marry the Lady *Mary* himselfe, (after once hee had brought her into his owne hands) and to have bestowed her Majesty that now is upon some one of his children (if it should have beene thought best to give her life,) and so consequently to have shaken of *Suffolke* and his pedegree, with condigne punishment, for his bold behaviour in that behalfe.

Verily (quoth I) this had beene an excellent *Scholar*. Stratageme, if it had taken place. But I pray you (Sir) how could himselfe have taken the Lady *Mary* to wife, seeing hee was at that time married to an other?

Oh (quoth the Gentleman) you question like a *Gentleman*. Schollar. As though my Lord of *Leycester* had not a wife alive, when hee first began to pretend marriage to the Queenes Majesty. Doe you not remember the story of King *Richard* the third, who at such time as hee thought best for the establishing of his title: to marry his owne Neece, that afterward was married to King *Henry* the seventh, how hee caused secretly to bee given abroad that his owne wife was dead, whom all the World knew to bee then alive and in good health, but yet soone afterward shee was seene dead indeed. These great personages, in matters of such weight, as is a Kingdome, have priviledges to dispose

The practise
of King
Richard for
dispatching
his Wife.

of Womens bodies, marriages, lives and deaths, as shall bee thought for the time most convenient.

A new
Triumvirat
betweene
Leycester,
Talbot, and
the Countesse
of *Shrewsbury*.

And what doe you thinke (I pray you) of this new *Triumvirat* so lately concluded about *Arbella*? (for so must I call the same, though one of the three persons bee no *Vir*, but, *Virago*;) I meane of the marriage betweene yong *Denbigh* and the little Daughter of *Lenox*, whereby the Father in Law, the Grandmother and the Vncle of the new designed Queene, have conceived to themselves a singular triumphant raigne. But what doe you thinke may ensue hereof? is there nothing of the old plot of Duke *Iohn* of *Northumberland* in this?

Lawyer.

Marry Sir (quoth the Lawyer) if this bee so, I dare assure you there is sequell enough pretended hereby. And first no doubt, but there goeth a deepe drift, by the wife and sonne, against old *Abraham* (the Husband and Father) with the well lined large pouch. And secondly, a farre deeper by trusty *Robert* against his best Mistresse: but deepest of all by the whole Crew, against the designements of the hasty Earle: who thirsteth a Kingdome, with great intemperance, and seemeth (if there were plaine dealing) to hope by these good people to quench shortly his drought.

Huntington.

But either part, in truth, seeketh to deceive other: and therefore it is hard to say where the game in fine will rest.

Well howsoever that bee (quoth the Gentleman) I am of opinion, that my Lord of *Leycester*, will use both this practize and many more, for bringing the Scepter finally to his owne head: and that hee will not onely imploy *Huntington* to defeate *Scotland*, and *Arbella* to defeate *Huntington*: but also would use the marriage of the Queene imprisoned, to defeate them both, if shee were in his hand: and any one of all three to dispossesse her Majesty that now is: as also the authority, of all foure to bring it to himselfe; with many other fetches, flinges and friscoes besides, which simple men as yet doe not conceive.

Gentleman.

The sleights of *Leycester* for bringing all to himselfe.

And howsoever these two conjoynd Earles, doe seeme for the time to draw together, and to play booty: yet am I, of opinion, that the one will beguile, the other at the upshot. And *Hastings* for ought I see, when hee commeth to the scrambling, is like to have no better luck by the Beare, then his Ancestour had once by the Boare. Who using his helpe first in murdering the Sonne and Heire of King *Henry* the sixt, and after in destroying the faithfull Friends and Kinsmen of King *Edward* the fift, for his easier way to usurpation: made an end of him also in the Tower, at the very same day and houre, that the other were by his counsell destroyed in *Pontfret Castle*. So that where the Goale and price of the game is a Kingdome: there is neither

Scrambling betweene *Leycester* and *Huntington* at the upshot.

Richard of Gloucester
An. 1. Edw. 5.

faith, neither good fellowship, nor faire play among the *Gamesters*. And this shall bee enough for the first point: (*viz*) what good my Lord of *Leycester* meaneth to himselfe in respecte of *Huntington*.

2. That the conspirators meane in her Majesties dayes.

Touching the second, whether the attempt bee purposed in her Majesties dayes or no, the matter is much lesse doubtfull, to him that knoweth or can imagine, what a torment the delay of a Kingdome is, to such a one as suffereth hunger thereof, and feareth that every houre may breed some alteration, to the prejudice of his conceived hope. Wee see often times that the child is impatient in this matter, to expect the naturall end of his parents life. Whom, notwithstanding, by nature hee is enforced to love: and who also by nature, is like long to leave this World before him: and after whose discease, hee is assured to obtaine his desire: but most certaine of dangerous event, if hee attempt to get it, while yet his parent liveth. Which foure considerations, are (no doubt) of great force to containe a child in duty, and bridle his desire: albeit sometimes not sufficient to withstand the greedy appetite of raigning.

Foure considerations.

But what shall wee think, wheren one of these foure considerations doe restraine? where the present Possessor is no parent? where shee is like by nature, to out-live the expector? whose death must needs bring

infinite difficulties to the enterprise? and in whose life time the matter is most easie to bee atchieved, under colour and authority of the present Possessor? shall wee thinke that in such a case the ambitious man, will overrule his owne passion, and leese his commodity.

As for that, which is alleaged before, for my Lord in the reason of his Defenders: that his present state is so prosperous, as hee cannot expect better in the next change whatsoever should bee: is of small moment, in the conceipt of an ambitious head, whose eye and heart is alwayes upon that, which hee hopeth for, and enjoyeth not: and not upon that which already hee possesseth, bee it never so good. Especially in matters of honour and authority, it is an infallible rule, that one degree desired and not obtained, afflicteth more, then five degrees already possessed, can give consolation: the story of Duke *Haman*, confirmeth this evidently, who being the greatest subject in the World under King *Assuerus*, after hee had reckoned up all his pompe, riches, glory and felicity to his friends, yet hee sayed, that all this was nothing unto him, untill hee could obtaine the revenge, which hee desired, upon *Mardocheus* his enemy: and hereby it commeth ordinarily to passe, that among highest in authority, are found the greatest store of Mal-contents, that most doe endanger their Prince and Countrey.

A thing
worthy to be
noted in
ambitious
men.

Histor. 5.

The *Percies*.

When the *Percies* tooke part with *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke*, against King *Richard* the second their lawfull soveraigne: it was not for lack of preferment: for they were exceedingly advanced by the said King, and possessed the three Earledomes of *Northumberland*, *Worcester*, and *Stafford* together, besides many other office and dignities of honour.

The two
Neviles.

In like sort, when the two *Neviles*, tooke upon them, to joyne with *Richard* of *Yorke*, to put downe their most benigne Prince King *Henry* the sixt: and after againe in the other side, to put downe King *Edward* the fourth: it was not upon want of advancement: they being Earles both of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and Lords of many notable places besides. But it was upon a vaine imagination of future fortune, whereby such men are commonly led: and yet had not they any smell in their nostrels, of getting the Kingdome for themselves, as this man hath to prick him forward.

Leycesters
hatred to her
Majesty.

If you say that these men hated their soveraigne, and that thereby they were led to procure his destruction: the same I may answere of my Lord living, though of all men hee hath least cause so to doe. But yet such is the nature of wicked ingratitude, that where it oweth most, and disdaineth to bee bound: there upon every little discontentment, it turneth double obligation into triple hatred.

The evill
nature of
ingratitude.

This hee shewed evidently in the time of his little disgrace, wherein hee not onely did diminish, vilipend, and debase among his friends, the inestimable benefites hee hath received from her Majesty, but also used to exprobate his owne good services and merits, and to touch her highnesse with ingrate consideration and recompence of the same, which behaviour together with his hasty preparation to rebellion, and assault of her Majesties Royall person and dignity, upon so small a cause given: did well shew what mind inwardly hee beareth to his soveraigne, and what her Majesty may expect, if by offending him, shee should once fall within the compasse of his furious pawes: seeing such a smoke of disdaine could not proceed, but from a fire furnace of hatred within.

*Leycesters
speeches of
her Majesty
in the time of
his disgrace.*

And surely it is a wonderfull matter to consider what a little check, or rather the bare imagination of a small overthwart, may worke in a proud and disdainfull stomack. The remembrance of his marriage missed, that hee so much pretended and desired with her Majesty doth stick deeply in his breast and stirreth him dayly to revenge. As also doth the disdaine of certaine checkes and disgraces received at sometimes, especially that of his last marriage: which irketh him so much the more, by how much greater feare and danger it brought him into, at that time, and did put

*The causes of
hatred in
Leycester
towards her
Majesty.*

The force of
female
suggestions.

his Widow in such open phrensie, as shee raged many moneths after against her Majesty, and is not cold yet : but remaineth as it were a sworne enemy, for that injury, and standeth like a friend or fury at the elbow of her *Amadis*, to stirre him forward when occasion shall serve. And what effect such female suggestions may worke, when they find an humour proud and pliable to their purpose : you may remember by the example of the Duchesse of *Somerset*, who inforced her Husband to cut off the head, of his onely deare Brother, to his owne evident destruction for her contentation.

An evident
conclusion
that the
execution is
meant in time
of her
Majesty.

Wherefore, to conclude this matter without further dispute or reason : saying there is so much discovered in the case as there is : so great desire of raigne, so great impatience of delay, so great hope and hability of successe, if it bee attempted, under the good fortune and present authority of the competitours : seeing the plats bee so well laid, the preparation so forward, the favorers so furnished, the time so propitious, and so many other causes conviting together : seeing that by differring, all may bee hazarded, and by hastening, little can bee indangered, the state and condition of things well weyed : finding also the bands of duty so broken already in the conspiratours, the causes of mislike and hatred so manifest, and the solicitours to

execution, so potent and diligent, as women, malice and ambition, are wont to bee ; it is more than probable, that they will not leese their present commodity, especially seeing they have learned by their Archi-tipe or Proto-plot which they follow (I meane the conspiracy of *Northumberland* and *Suffolke* in King *Edwards* dayes) that herein there was some errour committed at that time, which overthrew the whole, and that was, the differring of some things untill after the Kings death, which should have beene put in execution before.

An errour of
the Father
now to bee
corrected by
the Sonne.

For if in the time of their plotting, when as yet their designments were not published to the World, they had under the countenance of the King (as well they might have done) gotten into their hands the two Sisters, and dispatched some other few affaires, before they had caused the yong Prince to die : no doubt, but in mans reason the whole designment had taken place : and consequently it is to bee presupposed, that these men (being no fooles in their owne affaires) will take heed of falling into the like errour by delay : but rather will make all sure, by striking while the iron is hot, as our proverbe warneth them.

It cannot bee denied in reason (quoth the Lawyer) *Lawyer.* but that they have many helpes of doing what they list now, under the present a favour, countenance and authority of her Majesty, which they should not have

after her highnesse discease : when each man shall remaine more at liberty for his supreame obedience, by reason of the statute provided for uncertainty of the next successor ; and therefore I for my part, would rather counsell them, to make much of her Majesties life : for after that, they little know what may ensue, or befall their designements.

Gentleman.

They will make the most thereof (quoth the Gentleman) for their owne advantage, but after that, what is like to follow, the examples of *Edward* and *Richard* the second, as also of *Henry* and *Edward* the sixt, doe sufficiently fore-warne us : whose lives were prolonged, untill their deaths were thought more profitable to the conspiratours, and not longer. And for the statute you speake of, procured by themselves, for establishing the uncertainty of the next true successour (whereas all our former statutes were wont to bee made for the declaration and certainty of the same) it is with *Proviso*, (as you know) that it shall not endure longer, then the life of her Majesty, that now raigneth : that is, indeed, no longer then untill themselves bee ready to place an other. For then, no doubt, but wee shall see a faire proclamation that my Lord of *Huntington* is the onely next heire : with a bundle of halters to hang all such, as shall dare once open their mouth for deniall of the same.

Her Majesties
life and death,
to serve the
conspiratours
turne.

A proclama-
tion with
halters.

At these words the old Lawyer stepped back, as somewhat astonied, and began to make Crosses in the ayre, after their fashion, whereat wee laughed, and then hee said : truly my Masters I had thought that no man had conceived so evill imagination of this statute, as my selfe : but now I perceive that I alone am not malitious. For my owne part, I must confesse unto you, that as often as I read over this statute, or thinke of the same (as by divers occasions many times I doe) I feele my selfe much greeved and afflicted in mind, upon feares which I conceive what may bee the end of this statute to our Countrey, and what privy meaning, the chiefe procurers thereof might have for their owne drifts, against the Realme and life of her Majestie that now raigneth.

Lawyer.

*Papistically
blessing.*

*The statute
of concealing
the heire
apparent.*

And so much more it maketh mee to doubt, for that in all our records of law, you shall not find (to my remembrance) any one example of such a devise, for concealing of the true inheritour : but rather in all ages, states, and times (especially from *Richard* the first downeward) you shall find statutes, ordinances, and provisions, for declaration and manifestation of the same, as you have well observed and touched before. And therefore this strange and new devise, must needs have some strange and unaccustomed meaning : and God of his mercy grant, that it have not some strange and unexpected event.

*Richard going
towards
Hierusalem
began the
custome by
Parliament,
as Polidore
noteth Anno
10. of Richard
the second
to declare the
next heire.*

The danger of
our Countrey
by concealing
the next
heire.

In sight of all men, this is already evident, that never Countrey in the World, was brought into more apparent danger of utter ruine, then ours is at this day, by pretence of this statute. For where as there is no Gentleman so meane in the Realme, that cannot give a gesse more or lesse, who shall bee his next heire, and his tenants soone conjecture, what manner of person shall bee their next Lord : in the title of our noble Crowne, whereof all the rest dependeth ; neither is her Majesty permitted to know or say, who shall bee her next successor, nor her subjects allowed to understand or imagine, who in right may bee their future soveraigne : An intollerable injury in a matter of so singular importance.

Great in-
conveniences.

For (alas) what should become of this our native Countrey, if God should take from us her most excellent Majesty (as once hee will) and so leave us destitute upon the sudden what should become of our lives, of our states, and of our whole Realme or government ? can any man promise himselfe, one day longer of rest, peace, possession, life or liberty within the land, then God shall lend us her Majesty to raigne over us ? Which albeit, wee doe and are bound to wish that it may bee long : yet reason telleth us, that by course of nature, it cannot bee of any great continuance, and by a thousand accidents it may bee

much shorter. And shall then our most noble Commonwealth and Kingdome, which is of perpetuity, and must continue to our selves and our posterity, hang only upon the life of her highnesse alone, well stricken in yeares, and of no great good health or robustious and strong complexion.

I was within hearing some six or seven yeares agoe, when Sir *Christopher Hatton*, in a very great assembly, made an eloquent oration (which after I wene was put in print) at the pardoning and delivery of him from the gallouse, that by errour (as was thought) had discharged his peece upon her Majesties Barge, and hurt certaine persons in her highnesse presence. And in that oration hee declared and described very effectually, what inestimable dammage had ensued to the Realme, if her Majesty by that or any other meanes should have beene taken from us. Hee set forth most lively before the eyes of all men, what division, what dissension, what bloodshed had ensued, and what fatall dangers were most certaine to fall upon us, whensoever that dolefull day should happen: wherein no man should bee sure of his life, of his goods, of his wife, of his children: no man certaine whether to flie, whom to follow, or where to seeke repose and protection.

And as all the hearers there present did easily grant that hee therein said truth and farre lesse then

Sir *Christopher*
Hattons
oration.

Intollerable
treasons.

might have beene said in that behalfe, things standing as they doe : so many one (I trow) that heard these words proceed from a Councellour, that had good cause to know the state of his owne Countrey : entred into this cogitation what punishment they might deserve then, at the whole State and Common-wealths hands, who first by letting her Majesty from marriage, and then by procuring this statute of dissembling the next inheritour : had brought their Realme into so evident and inevitable dangers ? for every one well considered and weighed with himselfe, that the thing which yet onely letted these dangers and miseries set downe by Sir *Christopher*, must necessarily one day faile us all, that is, the life of her Majesty now present : and then (say wee) how falleth it out, that so generall a calamity as must needs overtake us ere it belong (and may, for any thing wee know to morrow next) is not provided for, as well as foreseeene.

Is there no remedy, but that wee must willingly and wittingly runne into our owne ruine ? and for the favour or feare of some few aspirours, betray our Countrey and the bloud of so many thousand innocents, as live within the land ?

The miseries
to follow upon
her Majesties
death.

For tell mee (good Sirs) I pray you, if her Majesty should die to morrow next (whose life God long preserve and blesse,) but if shee should bee taken from

us, (as by condition of nature and humaine frailty shee may) what would you doe? which way would you looke? or what head or part, knew any good subject in the Realme to follow? I speake not of the conspiratours, for I know they will bee ready and resolved whom to follow: but I speake of the plaine, simple and well meaning subject, who following now the utter letter of this fraudulent statute, (fraudulent I meane in the secret concept of the cunning aspirours:) shall bee taken at that day upon the sudden, and being put in a maze by the unexpected contention about the Crowne, shall bee brought into a thousand dangers, both of body and goods, which now are not thought upon, by them who are most in danger of the same. And this is, for the Common-wealth and Countrey.

But unto her Majesty, for whose good and safety, the statute is onely pretended to bee made, no doubt, but that it bringeth farre greater dangers, then any devise that they have used besides. For hereby under colour of restraining the claimes and titles of true successours, (whose endeavours notwithstanding, are commonly more calme and moderate then of usurpers,) they make unto themselves, a meane to forster and set forward their owne conspiracy without controlement: seeing no man of might may oppose himselfe against them, but with suspicion, that hee meaneth

The danger
to her
Majesty by
this statute.

to claime for himselfe. And so they being armed, on the one side, with their authority and force of present fortune, and defended, on the other side, by the pretence of the statute: they may securely worke and plot at their pleasure, as you have well proved before that they doe. And whensoever their grounds and foundations shall bee ready, it cannot bee denied but that her Majesties life, lieth much at their discretion, to take it, or use it, to their best commodity: (and there is no doubt, but they will,) as such men are wont to doe in such affaires. Marry one thing standeth not in their powers so absolutely, and that is, to prolong her Majesties dayes or favour towards themselves, at their pleasures: whereof it is not unlike but they will have due consideration, least perhaps upon any sudden accident, they might bee found unready.

Gentleman.

They have good care thereof I can assure you, (quoth the Gentleman) and meane not to bee prevented by any accident, or other mishap whatsoever: they will bee ready for all events: and for that cause, they hasten so much their preparations at this day, more then ever before: by sending out their spies and solicitours every-where, to prove and confirme their friends: by delivering their Common watch-word: by complaining on all hands of our protestants Bishops and Clergy, and of all the present state of our irre-

*The hastning
of the Con-
spiratours.*

formed religion, (as they call it :) by amplifying onely the danger of Papists and Scottish faction : by giving out openly that now her Majesty is past hope of Childbirth, and consequently seeing God hath given no better successe that way in two Women one after the other : it were not convenient (say they) that an other of that sexe should ensue : with high commendation of the Law *Salick* in *France*, whereby women are forbidden to succeed. Which speech though in shew, it bee delivered against the Queene of *Scots* and other of King *Henry* the seventh his line, that discend of Sisters : yet all men see that it toucheth as well the disabling of her Majesty, that is present, as others to come : and so tendeth directly to Maturation of the principall purpose, which I have declared before.

Here said I, for the rest which you speake of, besides the Watch-word, it is common and every where treated in talke among them : but yet for the Watch-word it selfe (for that you name it) I thinke (Sir) many know it not, if I were the first that told you the story, as perchance I was. For in truth I came to it by a rare hap (as then I told you) the thing being uttered and expounded by a Baron of their owne faction, to an other Noble man of the same degree and religion, though not of the same opinion in these affaires. And for that I am requested not to utter the second, who

Schollar.

The Watch-
word of the
Conspira-
tours.

told it mee in secret, I must also spare the name of the first: which otherwise I would not, nor the time and place where hee uttered the same.

Lawyer.

To this (said the Lawyer) you doe well in that: but yet I beseech you, let mee know this Watch-word (if there bee any such) for mine instruction and helpe, when need shall require. For I assure you that this Gentlemans former speech of halters hath so terrified mee, as if any should come and aske or feele my inclination in these matters, I would answer them fully to their good contentment, if I knew the Watch-word, whereby to know them. For of all things, I love not to bee hanged for quarrels of Kingdomes.

Schollar.

Are you settled?

The Watch-word is, (said I) *Whether you bee settled or no?* and if you answere yea, and seeme to understand the meaning thereof: then are you knowne to bee of their faction, and so to bee accompted and dealt withall for things to come. But if you staggar or doubt in answering, as if you knew not perfectly the mistery (as the Noble man my good Lord did, imagining that it had beene meant of his religion, which was very well knowne to bee good and settled in the Gospell) then are you discried thereby, either not to bee of their side, or els to bee but a Punie not well instructed, and consequently, hee that moveth you the question, will presently breake of that speech, and turne to some

A great
mystery.

other talke, untill afterward occasion bee given to perswade you, or els instruct you better in that affaire.

Marry the Noble man, whereof I spake before, perceiving by the demanding, that there was some mistery in covert, under the question: tooke hold of the words, and would not suffer the propounder to slip away (as hee endeavoured) but with much intreaty, brought him at length, to expound the full meaning and purpose of the riddle. And this was the first occasion (as I thinke) whereby this secret came abroad. Albeit afterwards at the publique communions, which were made throughout so many shires, the matter became more common: especially, among the strangers that inhabite (as you know) in great numbers with us at this day. All which (as they say) are made most assured to this faction, and ready to assist the same with great forces at all occasions.

Good Lord (quoth the Lawyer) how many misteries *Lawyer.* and secrets bee there abroad in the World, whereof wee simple men know nothing and suspect lesse. This Watch-word should I never have imagined: and for the great and often assemblies under pretence of Communions, though of themselves and of there owne nature, they were unaccustomed, and consequently subject to suspition: yet did I never conceive so farre forth as now I doe; as neither of the lodging and

*Assemblies at
communions.*

Strangers
within the
Land.

entertaining of so many strangers in the Realme, whereof our Artizans doe complaine every where. But now I see the reason thereof, which (no doubt) is founded upon great policy for the purpose. And by this also I see, that the house of *Huntington*, presseth farre forward for the game, and shouldreth neare the goale to lay hands upon the same. Which to tell you plainely, liketh mee but a little: both in respect of the good will I beare to the whole line of King *Henry*, which hereby is like to bee dispossessed; as also for the misery, which I doe foresee, must necessarily ensue upon our Countrey, if once the chalenge of *Huntington* take place in our Realme. Which challenge being derived from the title of *Clarence* onely in the House of *Yorke*, before the union of the two great Houses: raiseth up againe the old contention, betweene the families of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, wherein so much *English* bloud was spilt in times past, and much more like to bee powred out now, if the same contention should bee set on foot againe. Seeing that to the controversie of titles, would bee added also the controversie of Religion, which of all other differences is most dangerous.

The perill of
our Countrey
if *Huntingtons*
claime take
place.

Gentleman.

Sir (quoeth the Gentleman) now you touch a matter of consequence indeed, and such as the very naming thereof, maketh my heart to shake and tremble. I

remember well, what *Philip Cominus* setteth downe in his history of our Countries calamity, by that contention of those two Houses, distinguished by the red rose and the white: but yet both in their armes might justly have borne the colour of red with a fire sword in a black field to signifie the abundance of blood and mortality, which ensued in our Countrey, by that most wofull and cruell contention.

The red rose
and the
white.

I will not stand here to set downe the particulars, observed and gathered by the foresaid author, though a stranger, which for the most part hee saw himselfe, while hee lived about the Duke of *Burgundy* and King *Lewes* of *France* of that time: namely the pittifull description of divers right Noble men of our Realme, who besides all other miseries, were driven to begge openly in forraine Countries, and the like. Mine owne observation in reading over our Countrey affaires, is sufficient, to make mee abhorre the memory of that time, and to dread all occasion, that may lead us to the like in time to come: seeing that in my judgement, neither the Civill warres of *Marius* and *Silla*, or of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* among the *Romanes*, nor yet the *Guelphians* and *Gibilines* among the *Italians*, did ever worke so much wo, as this did to our poore Countrey. Wherein by reason of the contention of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* were foughten sixteene or seventeene pitched

The misery
of *England*
by the
contention
betweene
Yorke and
Lancaster.

Guelphians
and *Gibilines*.

*Edward
Plantaginet
Earle of
Warwick.*

*The Battell
by Tadcaster
on Palme
Sunday,
An. 1460.*

fields, in lesse then an hundreth yeares. That is, from the eleventh or twelfth yeare of King *Richard* the second his raigne (when this controversie first began to bud up) unto the thirteenth yeare of King *Henry* the seventh. At what time by cutting off the chiefe title of *Huntingtons* house, to wit, yong *Edward Plantaginet* Earle of *Warwick*, Sonne and Heire to *George* Duke of *Clarence*; the contention most happily was quenshed and ended, wherein so many fields (as I have said) were foughten, betweene Brethren and Inhabitants of our owne nation. And therein, and otherwise onely about the same quarrell, were slaine murdered and made away, about nine or tenne Kings Sonnes, besides above fourty Earles, Marquesses, and Dukes of name: but many more Lords, Knights, and great Gentlemen and Captaines: and of the Common-people without number, and by particular conjecture very neare two hundred thousand. For that in one Battell fought by King *Edward* the fourth, there are recorded to bee slaine on both parts, five and thirty thousand seven hundreth and eleven persons, besides other wounded and taken prisoners, to bee put to death afterwarde, at the pleasure of the Conquerour: at divers Battels after, ten thousand slaine at a Battell. As in those of *Barnet* and *Tukesbury*, fought both in one yeare.

This suffered our afflicted Countrey in those dayes, by this infortunate and deadly contention, which could never bee ended, but by the happy conjunction of those two houses together, in *Henry* the seventh : neither yet so (as appeareth by Chronicle) untill (as I have said) the state had cut of, the issue male of the Duke of *Clarence*, who was cause of divers perils to King *Henry* the seventh, though hee were in prison. By whose sister the faction of *Huntington* at this day, doth seeke to raise up the same contention againe with farre greater danger both to the Realme and to her Majesty that now reigneth, then ever before.

The danger of
Huntingtons
claime, to the
Realm and to
her Majesty.

And for the Realme it is evident, by that it giveth roome to strangers, Competitours of the House of *Lancaster* ; better able to maintaine their owne title by sword, then ever was any of that lineage before them. And for her Majesties perrill present, it is nothing hard to conjecture : seeing the same title in the foresaid Earle of *Warwick* was so dangerous and troublesome to her Grandfather (by whom shee holdeth) as hee was faine twice to take armes in defence of his right, against the said title, which was in those dayes preferred and advanced by the friends of *Clarence*, before that of *Henry* : as also this of *Huntington* is at this day, by his faction, before that of her Majesty though never so unjustly.

Lawyer.

Touching *Huntingtons* title, before her Majesty (quoth the Lawyer) I will say nothing: because in reason, I see not by what pretence in the World, hee may thrust himselfe so farre foorth: seeing her Majesty is descended, not onely of the House of *Lancaster*: but also before him most apparently, from the House of *Yorke* it selfe, as from the eldest daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, being the eldest brother of that House. Whereas *Huntington* claimeth onely, by the daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence* the yonger brother. Marry yet I must confesse that if the Earle of *Warwicks* title, were better then that of king *Henry* the seventh (which is most false, though many attempted to defend the same by sword :) then hath *Huntington* some wrong at this day, by her Majesty. Albeit in very truth, the *attaints of so many of his Ancestours by whom hee claimeth: would answere him also sufficiently in that behalfe, if his title were otherwise allowable.

How
Huntington
maketh his
title before
her Majesty.

* The most
of *Huntingions*
Ancestours
by whom hee
maketh title,
attainted of
treason.

The infamous
device of K.
Richard the
third allowed
by *Huntington*.

But I know besides this, they have an other fetch of King *Richard* the third, whereby hee would needs prove, his elder brother King *Edward* to bee a Bastard: and consequently his whole line as well male as female to bee void. Which devise though it bee ridiculous, and was at the time when it was first invented: yet, as *Richard* found at that time a Doctor *Shaw*, that

shamed not to publish and defend the same, at *Paules* Anno 1.
Marie. *Crosse* in a Sermon: and *Iohn* of *Northumberland* my Lord of *Leycesters* Father, found out divers Preachers in his time, to set up the title of *Suffolke*, and to debase the right of King *Henries* daughter both in *London*, *Cambridge*, *Oxford* and other places, most apparently against all law and reason: so I doubt not, but these men would find out also, both *Shawes*, *Sands*, and others, to set out the title of *Clarence*, before the whole interest of King *Henry* the seventh and his posterity, if occasion served. Which is a point of importance to bee considered by her Majesty albeit for my part, I meane not now to stand thereupon, but onely upon that other of the House of *Lancaster*, as I have said.

A point to be
noted by her
Majesty.

For as that most honourable, lawfull, and happy conjunction of the two adversary Houses, in King *Henry* the seventh and his wife, made an end of the shedding of *English* blood within it selfe, and brought us that most desired peace, which ever since wee have enjoyed, by the raigne of their two most noble issue: so the plot that now is in hand, for the cutting of, the residue of that issue, and for recalling back of the whole title to the onely House of *Yorke* againe: is like to plung us deeper, then ever in civile discord, and to make us the bait of all forraine Princes: seeing there

The joyning
of both
houses.

The Line of
Portugall.

bee among them at this day, some, of no small power (as I have said) who pretend to bee the next heires by the house of *Lancaster* : and consequently, are not like to give over or abandon their owne right, if once the doore bee opened, to contention for the same, by disannulling the Line of King *Henry* the seventh : wherein onely the keyes of all concord remaine knit together.

The old
estimation of
the House of
Lancaster.

And albeit I know well that such as bee of my Lord of *Huntingtons* party, will make small accompt of the title of *Lancaster*, as lesse rightfull a great deale then that of *Yorke* (and I for my part meane not greatly to avow the same, as now it is placed, being my selfe no favourer of forraine titles :) yet indifferent men have to consider, how it was taken in times past, and how it may againe, in time to come, if contention should arise : how many Noble personages of our Realme did offer themselves to die in defence thereof : how many oaths and lawes were given and received throughout the Realme for maintenance of the same, against the other House of *Yorke* for ever : how many worthy Kings were crowned, and raigned of that House and race, to wit, the foure most Noble *Henries*, one after an other, the fourth, the fift, the sixt, and the seventh : who both in number, government, sanctity, courage, and feates of armes, were nothing inferiour (if not superiour) to those of the other house and line of *Yorke*, after the division betweene the families.

It is to bee considered also, as a special sign of the favour and affection, of our whole nation unto that family: that *Henry Earle of Richmond* though descending but of the last Sonne, and third wife of *Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster* was so respected, for that onely by the universall Realme: as they inclined wholly, to call him from banishment, and to make him King, with the deposition of *Richard*, which then ruled of the House of *Yorke*, upon condition onely, that the said *Henry* should take to wife, a daughter of the contrary family: so great was in those dayes, the affection of *English* hearts, towards the line of *Lancaster*, for the great worthinesse of such Kings as had raigned of that race, how good or bad so ever their title were: which I stand not heare at this time to discusse, but onely to insinuate, what party the same found in our Realme in times past, and consequently, how extreame dangerous the contention for the same may bee hereafter: especially, seeing that at this day, the remainder of that title, is pretended to rest wholly in a stranger, whose power is very great. Which wee Lawyers are wont to esteeme as a point of no small importance, for justifying of any mans title to a Kingdom.

*Henry Earle
of Richmond.*

*The Line of
Portugall.*

You Lawyers want not reason in that Sir (quoth I) howsoever you want right: for if you will examine the succession of governments, from the beginning of the

Schollar.

The sword of
great force to
justify the
title of a
Kingdome.

Great
dangers.

World unto this day, either among Gentile, Jewe, or Christian People, you shall find that the sword hath beene alwayes better than halfe the title, to get, establish, or maintaine a Kingdome: which maketh mee the more apalled to heare you discourse in such sort of new contentions, and forraine titles, accompanied with such power and strength of the titlers. Which cannot bee but infinitely dangerous and fatall to our Realme, if once it come to action, both for the division that is like to bee at home, and the variety of parties from abroad. For as the Prince whom you signifie, will not faile (by all likelihood) to pursue his title with all forces that hee can make, if occasion were offered: so reason of state and pollicy will enforce other Princes adjoyning, to let and hinder him therein what they can: and so by this meanes shall wee become *Iuda* and *Israel* among our selves, one killing and vexing the other with the sworde: and to forraine Princes wee shall bee, as the Iland of *Salamina* was in old time to the *Athenians* and *Megarians*: and as the Iland of *Cicilia* was afterward to the *Grecians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Romans*: and as in our dayes, the Kingdome of *Naples* hath beene to the *Spaniards*, *French men*, *Germans*, and *Venetians*; That is, a bait to feed upon, and a game to fight for.

Wherefore, I beseech the Lord, to avert from us all

occasions of such miseries. And I pray you Sir, for that wee are fallen into the mention of these matters, to take so much paines as to open unto mee the ground of these controversies, so long now quiet, betweene *Yorke* and *Lancaster*: seeing they are now like to bee raised againe. For albeit in generall I have heard much thereof, yet in particular, I either conceive not, or remember not, the foundation of the same: and much lesse the state of their severall titles at this day, for that it is a study not properly pertaining unto my profession.

The controversie betweene the Houses of *Yorke* Lawyer. and *Lancaster* (quoth the Lawyer) tooke his actual

beginning in the issue of King *Edward* the third, who died somewhat more then two hundred yeares agone: but the occasion, pretence or cause of that quarrell, began, in the children of King *Henry* the third, who died an hundred yeares before that, and left two Sonnes, *Edward* who was King after him, by the name of *Edward* the first, and was Grandfather to *Edward* the third: and *Edmond*, (for his deformity called *Crookeback*) Earle of *Lancaster* and beginner of that house, whose inheritance afterward in the fourth discent, fell upon a Daughter named *Blanch*, who was married to the fourth Sonne of King *Edward* the third, named *John* of *Gaunt*, for that hee was borne in the City of *John* of *Gaunt*.

The beginning of the controversie betwixt *York* and *Lancaster*.

Edmond Crookeback beginner of the House of *Lancaster*.

Blanch.

John of *Gaunt*.

Gaunt in *Flanders*, and so by this his first wife, hee became Duke of *Lancaster* and heire of that house. And for that his Sonne *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke* (afterward called King *Henry* the fourth) pretended among other things, that *Edmond Crokeback*, great Grandfather to *Blanch* his mother, was the elder Sonne of King *Henry* the third, and unjustly put by the inheritance of the Crowne, for that hee was Crokebacked and deformed : hee tooke by force, the Kingdome from *Richard* the second, Nephew to King *Edward* the third by his first Sonne, and placed the same in the house of *Lancaster*, where it remained for three whole discents, untill afterward, *Edward* Duke of *Yorke* descended of *Iohn* of *Gaunts* yonger brother, making claime to the Crowne by title of his Grandmother, that was heire to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *Iohn* of *Gaunts* elder Brother : tooke the same by force from *Henry* the sixt, of the House of *Lancaster*, and brought it back againe to the House of *Yorke* : where it continued with much trouble in two Kings onely, untill both Houses were joyned together in King *Henry* the seventh and his noble issue.

Hereby wee see how the issue of *Iohn* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Sonne to King *Edward* the third, pretended right to the Crowne by *Edmond Crokebacke*, before the issue of all the other three Sonnes of *Edward* the third, albeit they were the elder

How the
Kingdome
was first
brought to
the House of
Lancaster.

Brothers, whereof wee will speake more hereafter. Now *Iohn* of *Gaunt* though hee had many children, yet had hee foure onely, of whom issue remaine, two Sonnes and two Daughters. The first Sonne was *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke* Duke of *Lancaster*, who tooke the Crowne from King *Richard* the second, his Vnkles Sonne, as hath beene said, and first of all planted the same in the House of *Lancaster*: where it remained in two discents after him, that is, in his Sonne *Henry* the fift, and in his Nephew *Henry* the sixt, who was afterward destroyed together with *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, his onelie Sonne and heire, and consequently all that Line of *Henry Bolingbrooke* extinguished, by *Edward* the fourth of the House of *Yorke*.

The issue of
Iohn of *Gaunt*.

The other Sonne of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, was *Iohn* Duke of *Somerset* by *Katherin Sfansford*, his third wife: which *Iohn*, had issue an other *Iohn*, and hee, *Margaret* his Daughter and Heire, who being married to *Edmond Tydor* Earle of *Richmond*, had issue *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, who after was named King *Henry* the seventh, whose Line yet endureth.

The pedegree
of King *Henry*
the 7.

The two Daughters of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, were married to *Portugall* and *Castile*: that is, *Philip* borne of *Blanch*, Heire to *Edmond Crookebacke*, as hath beene said, was married to *Iohn* King of *Portugall*, of whom is descended the King that now possesseth *Portugall*,

The two
Daughters
married to
Portugall and
Castile.

and the other Princes which have or may make title to the same : and *Katherin* borne of *Constance* Heire of *Castile*, was married back againe to *Henry* King of *Castile* in *Spaine*, of whom King *Philip* is also descended. So that by this, wee see, where the remainder of the House of *Lancaster* resteth, if the Line of King *Henry* the seventh were extinguished : and what pretext forraine Princes may have to subdue us, if my Lord of *Huntington* either now or after her Majesties dayes, will open to them the doore, by shutting out the rest of King *Henries* Line, and by drawing back the title to the onely House of *Yorke* againe : which hee pretendeth to doe, upon this that I will now declare.

Forraine
titles.

The issue of
King *Edward*
the 3.

King *Edward* the third, albeit hee had many children, yet five onely will wee speake of, at this time. Whereof three were elder then *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, and one yonger. The first of the elder, was named *Edward* the black Prince, who died before his Father, leaving one onely Sonne named *Richard* who afterward being King and named *Richard* the second, was deposed without issue, and put to death by his Cosin germain, named *Henry Bolingbrooke* Duke of *Lancaster*, Sonne to *John* of *Gaunt* as hath beene said, and so there ended the Line of King *Edwards* first Son.

King *Edwards* second Sonne, was *William* of *Hatfield* that died without issue.

His third Sonne, was *Leonell* Duke of *Clarence*, whose onely Daughter and Heire called *Philip*, was married to *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of *March*: and after that, *Anne* the Daughter and Heire *Mortimer*, was married to *Richard Plantaginet* Duke of *Yorke*, Sonne and Heire to *Edmond* of *Langley* the first Duke of *Yorke*: which *Edmond* was the fift Sonne of King *Edward* the third, and yonger Brother to *Iohn* of *Gaunt*. And this *Edmond* of *Langley* may bee called the first beginnner of the House of *Yorke*: even as *Edmond Croockback* the beginner of the House *Lancaster*.

Two *Edmonds*
the two
beginners of
the two
Houses of
Lancaster and
Yorke.

This *Edmond Langley* then, having a Sonne named *Richard*, that married *Anne Mortimer* sole Heire to *Leonell* Duke of *Clarence*, joyned two Lines and two Titles in one: I meane the Line of *Leonell* and of *Edmond Langley*, who were (as hath beene said) the third and the fift Sonnes to King *Edward* the third. And for this cause, the child that was borne of this marriage, named after his Father *Richard Plantaginet* Duke of *Yorke*, seeing himselfe strong, and the first line of King *Edward* the thirds eldest Sonne, to bee extinguished in the death of King *Richard* the second: and seeing *William* of *Hatfield* the second Sonne dead likewise without issue: made demand of the Crowne for the House of *Yorke*, by the title of *Leonell* the third Sonne of King *Edward*. And albeit hee could not

The claime
and title of
Yorke.

obtaine the same in his dayes, for that hee was slaine in a Battell against King *Henry* the sixt at *Wakefield* : yet his Sonne *Edward* got the same, and was called by the name of King *Edward* the fourth.

The issue of
King *Edward*
the fourth.

This King at his death left divers children, as namely two Sonnes, *Edward* the fift and his brother, who after were both murdered in the Tower, as shall bee shewed : and also five Daughters : to wit *Elizabeth*, *Cicily*, *Anne*, *Katherine*, and *Briget*. Whereof, the first was married to *Henry* the seventh. The last became a Nunne, and the other three, were bestowed upon divers other husbands.

The Duke of
Clarence
attainted by
Parliament.

Hee had also two Brothers : the first was called *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who afterward upon his deserts (as is to bee supposed,) was put to death in *Callis*, by commandement of the King, and his attainer allowed by Parliament. And this man left behind him a Sonne named *Edward* Earle of *Warwick*, put to death afterward without issue, by King *Henry* the seventh, and a Daughter named *Margaret*, Countesse of *Salisbury*, who was married to a meane Gentleman named *Richard Poole*, by whom shee had issue Cardinall *Poole* that died without marriage, and *Henry Poole* that was attainted and executed in King *Henry* the eight his time (as also herselfe was) and this *Henry Poole* left a Daughter married afterward to the Earle of *Huntington*, by whom

Huntingtons
title by the
Duke of
Clarence.

this Earle that now is maketh title to the Crowne. And this is the effect of my Lord of *Huntingtons* title.

The second Brother of King *Edward* the fourth, was *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, who after the Kings death, caused his two Sonnes to bee murdered in the Tower, and tooke the Kingdome to himselfe. And afterward hee being slaine by King *Henry* the seventh at *Bosworth-field*, left no issue behind him. Wherefore King *Henry* the seventh descending as hath beene shewed of the House of *Lancaster*, by *Iohn* of *Gaunts* last Sonne and third Wife, and taking to wife Lady *Elizabeth* Eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth of the House of *Yorke* : joyned most happily the two Families together, and made an end of all controversies about the title.

King *Richard*
the third.

The happy
conjunction
of the two
Houses.

Now King *Henry* the seventh had issue three Children: of whom remaineth posterity. First, *Henry* the eight, of whom is descended our soveraigne, her Majesty that now happily raigneth, and is the last that remaineth alive of that first Line. Secondly, hee had two Daughters: whereof the first named *Margaret*, was married twice, first to *Iames* King of *Scotland* from whom are directly discended the Queene of *Scotland* that now liveth and her Sonne: and King *Iames* being dead, *Margaret* was married againe to *Archibald Douglas* Earle of *Anguish* : by whom shee had a Daughter

The issue of
King *Henry*
the seventh.

The Line
and Title of
Scotland by
Margaret
eldest
Daughter to
King *Henry*
the 7.

Arbella.

named *Margaret*, which was married afterward, to *Mathew Steward* Earle of *Lenox*, whose Sonne *Charles Steward*, was married to *Elizabeth Candish* Daughter to the present Countesse of *Shrewsbury*, and by her hath left his onely Heire, a little Daughter named *Arbella*, of whom you have heard some speech before. And this is touching the Line of *Scotland*, descending from the first and eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh.

The Line and Title of *Suffolke* by *Mary*, second Daughter to King *Henry* the seventh.

The second Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh called *Mary*, was twice married also: first to the King of *France* by whom shee had no issue: and after his death to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, by whom shee had two Daughters, that is, *Francis*, of which the Children of my Lord of *Hartford* doe make their claime: and *Elenore* by whom the issue of the Earle of *Darby* pretendeth right, as shall bee declared. For that *Francis* the first Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the Queene of *France*, was married to the Marquesse of *Dorset*, who after *Charles Brandons* death was made Duke of *Suffolke* in right of his Wife, and was beheaded in Queene *Maries* time, for his conspiracy with my Lord of *Leycesters* Father. And shee had by this man three Daughters: that is, *Iane*, that was married to my Lord of *Leycesters* Brother, and proclaimed Queene after King *Edwards* death, for which both shee and

The issue of *Francis*, eldest Daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*.

her husband were executed : *Katherine* the second Daughter, who had two Sonnes, yet living, by the Earle of *Hartford* : and *Mary* the third Daughter, which left no Children.

The other Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the Queene of *France* called *Elenor*, was married to *George Clifford* Earle of *Cumberland*, who left a Daughter by her named *Margaret*, married to the Earle of *Darby*, which yet liveth and hath issue. And this is the title of all the House of *Suffolke*, descended from the second Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh, married (as hath beene shewed) to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*. And by this, you see also how many there bee, who doe thinke their titles to bee sat before that of my Lord of *Huntingtons*, if either right, law, reason, or consideration of home affaires may take place in our Realme: or if not, yet you cannot but imagine how many great Princes and Potentates abroad, are like to joyne and buckle with *Huntingtons* Line for the preeminence: if once the matter fall againe to contention by excluding the Line of King *Henry* the seventh which God forbid.

The issue of
Elenor second
daughter to
Charles
Brandon.

Truly Sir (quoth I) I well perceive that my Lords turne is not so nigh as I had thought, whether hee exclude the Line of King *Henry*, or no. For if hee exclude that, then must hee enter the Cumbat with

Schollar.

Huntington
behind many
other titles.

forraine titlers of the House of *Lancaster*: and if hee exclude it not, then in all apparence of reason and in Law to (as you have said) the succession of the two Daughters of King *Henry* the seventh (which you distinguish by the two names of *Scotland* and *Suffolke*) must needs bee as clearely before him and his Line, that descendeth onely from *Edward* the fourth his Brother: as the Queenes title that now raigneth is before him. For that both *Scotland*, *Suffolke*, and her Majesty doe hold all by one foundation, which is, the union of both Houses and Titles together, in King *Henry* the seventh her Majesties Grandfather.

Gentleman.

That is true (quoth the Gentleman) and evident enough in every mans eye: and therefore no doubt, but that as much is meant against her Majesty if occasion serve, as against the rest that hold by the same title. Albeit her Majesties state (the Lord bee praised) bee such at this time, as it is not safety to pretend so much against her, as against the rest, whatsoever bee meant. And that in truth, more should bee meant against her highnesse, then against all the rest, there is this reason: for that her Majesty by her present possession letteth more their desires, then all the rest together with there future pretences. But as I have said, it is not safety for them, nor yet good policy to declare openly, what they meane against her Ma-

The policy of
the Con-
spiratours for
the deceiving
of her
Majesty.

jesty: It is the best way for the present, to hew downe the rest, and to leave her Majesty, for the last blow and upshote to their game. For which cause, they will seeme to make great difference at this day, betweene her Majesties title, and the rest, that descend in likewise from King *Henry* the seventh: avowing the one, and disallowing the other. Albeit, my Lord of *Leycesters* Father, preferred that of *Suffolke*, when time was, before this of her Majesty, and compelled the whole Realme to sweare thereunto. Such is the variable policy of men, that serve the time, or rather, that serve themselves, of all times, for their purposes.

I remember (quoth I) that time of the Duke, and *Schollar.* was present my selfe, at some of his Proclamations for that purpose. Wherein my Lord his Sonne that now liveth: being then a doer, (as I can tell hee was:) I marvaile how hee can deale so contrary now: preferring not onely her Majesties title before that of *Suffolke* (whereof I wonder lesse because it is more *Leycesters* gainefull to him,) but also another much further of. *variabilitie.* But you have signified the cause, in that the times are changed, and other bargaines are in hand of more importance for him. Wherefore leaving this to bee considered by others, whom it concerneth, I beseech you, Sir, (for that I know, your worship hath beene much conversant among their friends and favourers) to

tell mee what are the barres and lettes which they doe alleadge, why the House of *Scotland* and *Suffolke* descending of King *Henry* the seventh his Daughters, should not succeed in the Crowne of *England* after her Majesty, who endeth the Line of the same King by his Sonne: for in my sight the matter appeareth very plaine.

Gentleman.

They want not pretences of barres and lets against them all (quoth the Gentleman) which I will lay downe in order, as I have heard them alledged. First in the Line of *Scotland* there are three persons as you know that may pretend right: that is, the Queene and her sonne by the first mariage of *Margaret*, and *Arbella* by the second. And against the first marriage I heare nothing affirmed: but against the two persons proceeding thereof, I heare them alledge three stops: one, for that they are strangers borne out of the land, and consequently incapable of inheritance within the same: another, for that by a speciall testament of King *Henry* 8. authorized by 2. severall Parliaments they are excluded: the third for that they are enemies to the religion now received among us, & therefore to be debarred.

Barres pretended against the claime of *Scotland* and *Suffolke*.

Against the Queene of *Scotland* and her sonne.

Against *Arbella*.

Against the second marriage of *Margaret* with *Archibald Douglas*, whereof *Arbella* is descended, they alledge, that the said *Archibald* had a former wife at

the time of that marriage, which lived long after: & so neither that marriage lawful, nor the issue thereof legitimate.

The same barre they have against all the house and Line of *Suffolk*, for first they say, that *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, had a knowen wife alive when he married *Mary* Queene of *France*, and consequently, that neither the Lady *Frances* nor *Elenor*, borne of that marriage, can be lawfully borne. And this is all, I can heare them say against the succession of the Countesse of *Darby* descended of *Elenor*. But against my Lord of *Hartfords* children, that come from *Frances* the eldest daughter, I heare them alledge two or three bastardies more besides this of the first marriage, For first, they affirme that *Henry* Marquesse *Dorset*, when he married the Lady *Frances*, had to wife the old Earle of *Arundels* sister, who lived both then and many yeares after, and had a provision out of his living to her dying day: whereby that marriage could no way be good. Secondly, that the Lady *Katherine* daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, by the Marques (by whom the Earle of *Hartford* had his children) was lawfully married to the Earle of *Pembroke* that now liveth, & consequently, could have no lawfull issue by any other during his life. 3ly. that the said *Katherine* was never lawfully married to the said Earle of *Hart-*

Against
Darby.

Against the
children of
Hartford.

ford, but bare him those children as his Concubine, which (as they say) is desined and registred in the Archbishop of *Canterburies* court, upon due examination taken by order of her Majesty that now reigneth, and this is in effect so much as I have heard them alledge, about these affaires.

Scholler.

It is much (quoth I) that you have said, if it may be all proved, Marry yet by the way, I cannot but smile to heare my Lord of *Leicester* allow of so many bastardies now upon the issue of *Ladie Frances*, whom in time past, when *Iane* her eldest daughter was married to his brother, he advanced in legitimation before both the daughters of King *Henry* the eight. But to the purpose: I would gladly know what grounds of veritie these allegations have, and how far in truth they may stoppe from inheritance: for indeed I never heard them so distinctly alledged before.

Leicesters
dealing with
the house of
Suffolke.

Gentleman.

Whereunto answered the Gentleman, that our friend the Lawyer could best resolve that, if it pleased him to speake without his fee: though in some points alledged every other man (quoth he) that knoweth the state and common government of *England*, may easily give his judgement also. As in the case of bastardie, if the matter may be proved, there is no difficulty, but that no right to inheritance can justly be pretended: as

Bastardy.

Forrain birth.

also (perhaps) in the case of *forraine birth*, though in

this I am not so cunning : but yet I see by experience, that forreiners borne in other lands, can hardly come and claime inheritance in *England*, albeit, to the contrary, I have heard great and long disputes, but such as indeed passed my capacity. And if it might please our friend here present to expound the thing unto us more clearely : I for my part would gladly bestow the hearing, and that with attention.

To this answered the Lawyer. I will gladly, Sir, *Lawyer.* tel you my mind in any that it shall please you demand : and much more in this matter wherein by occasion of often conference, I am somewhat perfect.

The impediments which these men alledge against the succession of K. *Henry* the 8 his sisters, are of two kindes, as you see : The one knowen and allowed in our law, as you have well said, if it may bee proved : and that is bastardie : whereby they seeke to disable all the whole Line and race of *Suffolke* : as also *Arbella*, of the second and later house of *Scotland*. Whereof it is to small purpose to speake any thing here : seeing the whole controversie standeth upon a matter of fact onely, to be proved or improved by records and witnessses. Onely this I will say, that some of these bastardies, before named, are rife in many mens mouths, and avowed by divers that yet live : but let other men looke to this, who have most interest

Bastardies
lawfull stops.

therein, and may bee most damnified by them, if they fall out true.

The impediments against Scotland three in number.

The other impediments, which are alleadged onely against the Queene of Scots and her Sonne, are in number three, as you recite them: that is, forraine birth, King *Henries* Testament and Religion: whereof I am content to say some what, seeing you desire it: albeit there bee so much published already in bookes of divers languages beyond the sea, as I am informed, concerning this matter, as more cannot bee said. But yet so much as I have heard passe among Lawyers my betters, in conference of these affaires: I will not let to recite unto you, with this Proviso and Protestation alwayes, that what I speake, I speake by way of recitall of other mens opinions: not meaning my selfe to incurre the statute of affirming or avowing any persons title to the Crowne, whatsoever.

A protestation.

Touching the first impediment of forraine birth.

First then touching forraine birth, there bee some men in the World that will say, that it is a common and general rule of our law, that no stranger at all may inherit any thing, by any meanes, within the Land: which in truth I take to bee spoken without ground, in that generall sense. For I could never yet come to the sight of any such common or universall rule: and I know, that divers examples may bee alleadged in sundry cases to the contrary: and by that, which is

expresly set downe in the seventh and ninth yeares of King *Edward* the fourth, and in the eleventh and foureteenth of *Henry* the fourth, it appeareth plainly that a stranger may purchase lands in *England*, as also inherite by his Wife, if hee marry an inheritrix.

An Alien may purchase.

Wherefore this common rule is to bee restrained from that generality, unto proper inheritance onely: in which sense I doe easily grant, that our Common law hath beene of ancient, and is at this day, that no person borne out of the allegiance of the King of *England* whose Father and Mother were not of the same allegiance at the time of his birth, shall bee able to have or demand any heritage within the same allegiance, as heire to any person. And this rule of our Common law is gathered in these selfe same words of a statute made in the five and twentieth yeare of King *Edward* the third, which indeed is the onely place of effect, that can bee alleadged out of our law against the inheritance of strangers in such sense and cases, as wee now treat of.

The true Maxima against Aliens.

The statute of King *Edward* whence the Maxima is gathered.

And albeit now the Common law of our Countrey, doe runne thus in generall, yet will the friends of the *Scottish* claime affirme, that hereby that title is nothing let or hindred at all towards the Crowne: and that for divers manifest and weighty reasons: whereof the principall are these which ensue.

Reasons why the *Scottish* title is not letted by the Maxima against Aliens.

The first
reason.

First it is common, and a generall rule of our *English* lawes, that no Rule, Axiome, or Maxima of law (bee it never so generall) can touch or bind the Crowne, except expresse mention bee made thereof, in the same: for that the King and Crowne have great priviledge and prerogative, above the state and affaires of subjects, and great differences allowed in points of law.

The rule of
thirds.

As for example, it is a generall and common rule of law, that the wife after the decease of her husband, shall enjoy the third of his lands: but yet the Queene shall not enjoy the third part of the Crowne, after the Kings death: as well appeareth by experience, and is to bee seene by Law, *Anno* 5. and 21. of *Edward* the third: and *Anno* 9. and 28. of *Henry* the sixt. Also it is a common rule, that the Husband shall hold his wives lands after her death: as tenant by courtesie during his life, but yet it holdeth not in a Kingdome.

Tenant by
courtesie.

Division
among
daughters.

In like manner, it is a generall and common rule, that if a man die seased of Land in Fee simple, having Daughters and no Sonne: his lands shall bee divided by equall portions among his Daughters: which holdeth not in the Crowne: but rather the eldest Daughter inheriteth the whole, as if shee were the issue male. So also it is a common rule of our law, that the executour shall have all the goods and chattels

Executors.

of the Testatour, but yet not in the Crowne. And so in many other cases which might bee recited, it is evident that the Crowne hath priviledge above others, and can bee subject to rule, bee it never so generall, except expresse mention bee made thereof in the same law : as it is not in the former place and a statute alleaged : but rather to the contrary, (as after shall bee shewed) there is expresse exception, for the prerogative of such as descend of Royall blood.

Their second reason is, for that the demand or title of a Crowne, cannot in true sense bee comprehended under the words of the former statute, forbidding Aliens to demand heritage within the allegiance of *England* : and that for two respects. The one, for that the Crowne it selfe cannot bee called an heritage of allegiance or within allegiance, for that it is holden of no superiour upon earth, but immediately from God himselfe : the second, for that this statute treateth onely and meaneth of inheritance by descent, as Heire to the same, (for I have shewed before that Aliens may hold lands by purchase within our Dominion) and then say they, the Crowne is a thing incorporate and descendeth not according to the common course of other private inheritances : but goeth by succession, as other incorporations doe. In signe whereof, it is evident, that albeit, the King bee more favoured in all his

The 2 reason.
The Crowne
no such
inheritance
as is meant in
the statute.

The Crown a
corporation.

doings then any common person shall bee : yet cannot hee avoid by law his grants and letters patents by reason of his nonage (as other infants and common heires under age may doe) but alwayes bee said to bee of full age in respect of his Crowne : even as a Prior, Parson, Vicar, Deane, or other person incorporate shall bee, which cannot by any meanes in law bee said, to bee within age, in respect of their incorporations.

Which thing maketh an evident difference in our case, from the meaning of the former statute : for that a Prior, Deane, or Parson, being Aliens and no Denizens : might alwayes in time of peace, demand lands in *England*, in respect of their corporations, notwithstanding the said statute or common law against Aliens, as appeareth by many booke cases yet extant : as also by the statute made in the time of King *Richard* the second, which was after the foresaid statute of King *Edward* the third.

The third
reason.
The Kings
issue excepted
by name.

The third reason is, for that in the former statute it selfe, of King *Edward*, there are excepted expresly from this generall rule, *Infantes du Roy*, that is, the Kings offspring or issue, as the word *Infant* doth signifie, both in *France*, *Portugall*, *Spaine*, and other Countries : and as the latin word *Liberi* (which answereth the same) is taken commonly in the Civill law. Neither may wee restraine the french words of that

statute *INFANTES DV ROY*, to the Kings children only of the first degree (as some doe, for that the barrenesse of our language doth yeeld us no other word for the same) but rather, that thereby are understood, as well the Nephewes and other descendants of the King or blood Royal, as his immediate children. For it were both unreasonable and ridiculous to imagine, that King *Edward* by this statute, would goe about to disinherit his owne nephewes, if hee should have any borne out of his owne allegiance (as easily he might at that time) his sonnes being much abroad from *England*, and the blacke Prince his eldest sonne having two children borne beyond the seas: and consequently, it is apparent, that this rule or Maxime set downe against Aliens is no way to be stretched against the descendants of the King or of the blood Royall.

Their fourth reason is, that the meaning of King *Edward* and his children (living at such time as this statute was made) could not be, that any of their lineage or issue might be excluded in law, from inheritance of their right to the Crowne, by their forreine birth wheresoever. For otherwise, it is not credible that they would so much have dispersed their own blood in other countries, as they did: by giving their daughters to strangers, and other meanes. As *Leonel* the kings third sonne was married in *Millan*: and *Iohn*

Libetorum. F.
de verb. sign.

The fourth
reason.
The Kings
meaning.

The matches
of England
with
forrainers.

of *Gaunt* the fourth sonne gave his two daughters, *Philip* and *Katherine* to *Portugall* and *Castile*: and his neice *Ioan* to the King of Scots: as *Thomas* of *Woodstocke* also the youngest brother, married his two daughters, the one to the King of *Spaine*, and the other to Duke of *Brittaine*. Which no doubt (they being wise Princes, and so neere of the blood Royal) would never have done: if they had imagined that hereby their issue should have lost all clayme and title to the Crowne of *England*: and therefore it is most evident, that no such barre was then extant or imagined.

The fift
reason.
Examples of
forrainers
admitted.

Their fift reason is, that divers persons borne out of all English dominion and allegiance, both before the conquest and since, have beene admitted to the succession of our Crowne, as lawfull inheritors, without any exception against them for their forraine birth. As before the conquest is evident in young *Edgar Etheling* borne in *Hungarie*, and thence called home to inherit the Crowne, by his great Vncle King *Edward* the Confessor, with full consent of the whole Realme, the Bishop of *Worcester* being sent as Ambassadour to fetch him home, with his father named *Edward* the out-law.

Flores hist.
An. 1066.

And since the conquest, it appeareth plainly in King *Stephen* and King *Henry* the second, both of

them borne of English dominions, and of Parents, that at their birth, were not of the English allegiance: and yet were they both admitted to the Crowne. Young *Arthur* also Duke of *Bretaigne* by his mother *Constance* that matched with *Geffray* King *Henry* the seconds sonne, was declared by King *Richard* his Vncle, at his departure towards *Ierusalem*, and by the whole Realme, for lawfull heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*, though he were borne in *Britaine* out of English allegiance, and so he was taken and adjudged by all the world at that day: albeit after King *Richards* death, his other Vncle *Iohn*, most tyrannously took both his kingdome and his life from him. For which notable injustice he was detested of all men both abroad and at home: and most apparently scourged by God, with grievous and manifold plagues, both upon himselfe and upon the Realme, which yeelded to his usurpation. So that by this also it appeareth, what the practice of our countrey hath beene from time to time in this case of forraine birth: which practice is the best Interpreter of our common English law: which dependeth especially, and most of all, upon custome: nor can the adversary alleage any one example to the contrary.

Their sixth, is of the judgement and sentence of King *Henry* the seventh, and of his Councill: who being together in consultation, at a certaine time about

Pol. lib. 15.
Flor. hist.
1208.

King *John*
a Tyrant.

The sixt
reason.
The judge-
ment and
sentence of
K. *Henry* the
seventh.

the mariage of *Margaret* his eldest daughter into *Scotland*: some of his Councell moved this doubt, what should ensue, if by chance the Kings issue male should faile, and so the succession devolve to the heires of the said *Margaret*, as now it doth? Whereunto that wise and most prudent Prince made answer: that if any such event should be, it could not be prejudiciall to *England*, being the bigger part, but rather beneficiall: for that it should draw *Scotland* to *England*: that is, the lesser to the more: even as in times past it hapned in *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, and some other Provinces. Which answer appeased all doubts, and gave singular content to those of his Councell, as *Polidore* writeth, that lived at that time, and wrote the speciall matters of that reigne, by the Kings owne instruction. So that hereby wee see no question made of King *Henry* or his Counsellors touching forraine birth, to let the succession of Lady *Margarets* issue: which no doubt would never have beene omitted in that learned assembly, if any law at that time had been esteemed or imagined to barre the same.

And these are sixe of their principalest reasons, to prove, that neither by the words nor meaning of our common lawes, nor yet by custome or practice of our Realme, an Alien may be debarred from claime of his interest to the Crowne, when it falleth to him by right-

full descent in blood and succession. But in the particular case of the Queene of Scots and her sonne, they doe adde another reason or two: thereby to prove them in very deed to be no Aliens. Not onely in respect of their often and continuall mixture with English blood from the beginning (and especially of late, the Queenes Grandmother and husband being English, and so her sonne begotten of an English father) but also for two other causes and reasons, which seeme in truth of very good importance.

The seventh
reason.
The Q. of
Scots and her
sonne no
Aliens.

The first is, for that *Scotland* by all English men, (howsoever the Scots deny the same) is taken and holden as subject to *England* by way of Homage: which many of their Kings, at divers times have acknowledged: and consequently, the Queene and her sonne being borne in *Scotland*, are not borne out of the allegiance to *England*, and so no forrainers.

The second cause or reason is, for that the forenamed statute of Forrainers in the five and twenty yeare of King *Edward* the third, is intituled *of those that are borne beyond the seas*. And in the body of the same statute, the doubt is moved of children borne out of English allegiance beyond the seas: whereby cannot be understood *Scotland*, for that it is a peece of the continent land within the seas. And all our old Records in *England*, that talke of service to be done

within these two-countries: have usually these latine words, *Infra quatuor maria*, or in French, *deins lez quatre mers*, that is, within the foure seas: whereby must needs be understood as well *Scotland* as *England*, and that perhaps for the reason before mentioned, of the subjection of *Scotland* by way of Homage to the Crowne of *England*. In respect whereof it may be, that it was accounted of old, but one dominion or allegiance. And consequently, no man borne therein can be accounted an Alien to *England*. And this shall suffice for the first point, touching forraine Nativity.

The second
impediment
against the
Q. of Scots.
and her son
which is K.
Henry the
eight his
Testament.

For the second impediment objected, which is the Testament of King *Henry* the eight, authorized by Parliament, whereby they affirme the succession of *Scotland* to bee excluded: it is not precisely true that they are excluded, but onely that they are put back behind the succession of the house of *Suffolke*. For in that pretended Testament (which after shall be proved to be none indeed) King *Henry* so disposeth, that after his owne children (if they should chance to die without issue) the Crowne shall passe to the heires of *Frances*, and of *Elenore*, his neices by his younger sister *Mary* Queene of *France*: and after them (deceasing also without issue) the succession to returne to the next heires againe. Whereby it is evident, that the succession of *Margaret* Queene of *Scotland* his eldest

sister, is not excluded : but thrust back only from their due place and order, to expect the remainder, which may in time be left by the younger. Whereof in mine opinion doe ensue some considerations against the present pretenders themselves.

First, that in King *Henries* judgement, the former pretended rule of forraine birth, was no sufficient impediment against *Scotland* : for if it had beene no doubt, but that he would have named the same in his alleaged testament, and thereby have utterly excluded that succession. But there is no such thing in the Testament.

Forrain birth
no impediment in the
judgement of
K. Henry the
eight.

Secondly, if they admit this Testament, which allotteth the Crowne to *Scotland*, next after *Suffolke* : then, seeing that all the house of *Suffolke*, (by these mens assertion) is excluded by Bastardie : it must needs follow, that *Scotland* by their owne judgement is next, and so this Testament will make against them, as indeed it doth in all points most apparently, but only that it preferreth the house of *Suffolke*, before that of *Scotland*. And therefore (I thinke Sir) that you mistake somewhat about their opinion in alleaging this Testament. For I suppose, that no man of my Lord of *Huntingtons* faction, will alleage or urge the testimonie of this Testament : but rather some friend of the house of *Suffolke* in whose favour, I take it, that it was first of all forged.

The succession of
Scotland next
by the
judgement
of the
competitors.

Gentleman.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor will I stand obstinately in the contrary: for that it is hard, sometime to judge of what faction each one is, who discourseth of these affaires. But yet I marvell (if it were as you say) why *Leicesters* father after King *Edwards* death, made no mention thereof in the favour of *Suffolke*, in the other Testament which then he proclaymed, as made by King *Edward* deceased, for preferment of *Suffolke* before his owne sisters.

LAVV.

The Duke of
Northumber-
lands drift.

The cause of this is evident (quoth the Lawyer) for that it made not sufficiently for his purpose: which was to disinherit the two daughters of King *Henry* himselfe, and advance the house of *Suffolke* before them both.

Gentleman.

The mutable
dealing of the
house of
Dudley.

A notable change (quoth the Gentleman) that a title so much exalted of late by the father, above all order, right, ranke, and degree: should now be so much debased by the sonne, as though it were not worthy to hold any degree, but rather to be troden under foot for plaine bastardie. And you see by this, how true it is which I told you before: that the race of *Dudlies* are most cunning Merchants, to make their gaine of all things, men and times. And as wee have seene now two testaments alleaged, the one of the Kings father, and the other of the Kings sonne, and both of them in prejudice of the testators true succes-

sors: so many good subiects begin greatly to feare, that wee may chance to see shortly a third testament of her Maiesty for the intituling of *Huntington*, and extirpation of King *Henries* bloud, and that before her Majesty can thinke of sicknesse: wherein I beseech the Lord I bee no Prophet. But now (Sir) to the foresaid Will and Testament of King *Henry*; I have often heard, in truth, that the thing was counterfeit, or at the least not able to bee proved: and that it was discovered, rejected, and defaced in Queene *Maries* time: but I would gladly understand what you Lawyers esteeme or judge thereof.

Touching this matter (quoth the Lawyer) it cannot
 bee denied, but that in the twenty and eight, and
 thirty and sixt yeares of King *Henries* raigne, upon
 consideration of some doubt and irresolution, which
 the King himselfe had shewed, to have about the
 order of succession in his owne children, as also for
 taking away all occasions of controversies in those of
 the next bloud: the whole Parliament gave authority
 unto the said King, to debate and determine those
 matters himselfe, together with his learned Councill,
 who best knew the lawes of the Realme, and titles
 that any man might have thereby: and that whatso-
 ever succession his Majesty should declare as most
 right and lawfull under his letters patents sealed, or by

Lawyer.

The authority
 and occasion
 of King
Henries
 testament.

his last will and testament rightfully made and signed with his owne hand: that the same should bee received for good and lawfull.

Vpon pretence whereof, soone after King *Henries* death, there was shewed a will with the Kings stamp at the same, and the names of divers witnesses, wherein (as hath beene said) the succession of the Crowne, after the Kings owne children, is assigned to the Heires of *Frances* and of *Elenor*, Nieces to the King, by his yonger sister. Which assignation of the Crowne, being as it were a meere guift in prejudice of the elder sisters right (as also of the right of *Frances* and *Elenor* themselves, who were omitted in the same assignation, and their Heires intituled onely) was esteemed to bee against all reason, law, and nature, and consequently not thought to proceed from so wise and sage a Prince, as King *Henry* was knowne to bee: but rather, either the whole forged, or at leastwise that clause inserted by other, and the Kings stamp set unto it, after his death, or when his Majesty lay now past understanding. And hereof there wanteth not divers most evident reasons and proofes.

The Kings
Testament
forged.

The first
reason.
Injustice
and im-
probability.

For first, it is not probable or credible, that King *Henry* would ever goe about, against law and reason, to disinherit the line of his eldest sister, without any profit or interest to himselfe: and thereby, give most

evident occasion of Civill warre and discord within the Realme, seeing, that in such a case of manifest and apparent wrong, in so great a matter, the authority of Parliament, taketh little effect, against the true and lawfull inheritour: as well appeared in the former times and contentions of *Henry* the sixth, *Edward* the fourth, and *Richard* the third: in whose raignes, the divers and contrary Parliaments made and holden, against the next inheritour, held no longer with any man, then untill the other was able to make his owne party good.

So likewise, in the case of King *Edward* the third his succession to *France*, in the right of his Mother, though hee were excluded by the generall assembly and consent of their Parliaments: yet hee esteemed not his right extinguished thereby: as neither did other Kings of our Countrey that ensued after him. And for our present case, if nothing els should have restrained King *Henry*, from such open injustice towards his eldest sister: yet this cogitation, at least, would have stayed him: that by giving example of supplanting his elder sisters Line by vertue of a testament or pretence of Parliament: some other might take occasion to displace his children by like pretence: as wee see that Duke *Dudley* did soone after, by a forged testament of King *Edward* the sixth. So ready Schollars there

The example
of *France*.

are to bee found, which easily will learne such Lessons of iniquity.

The second
reason.
Incongruities
and
indignities.

Secondly, there bee too many incongruities and indignities in the said predented Will to proceed from such a Prince and learned Councell as King *Henries* was. For first what can bee more ridiculous, then to give the Crowne unto the Heires of *Frances* and *Elenor*, and not to any of themselves? or what had they offended that their Heires should enjoy the Crowne in their right and not they themselves? What if King *Henries* children should have died, whiles Lady *Francis* had beene yet alive? who should have possessed the Kingdome before her, seeing her Line was next? and yet by this testament shee could not pretend her selfe to obtaine it. But rather having married *Adrian Stokes* her Horsekeeper, shee must have suffered her Sonne by him (if shee had any) to enjoy the Crowne: and so *Adrian* of a serving man and Master of horses, should have become the great Master and Protectour of *England*. Of like absurdity is that other clause also, wherein the King bindeth his owne Daughters to marry, by consent and direction of his counsell, or otherwise to leese the benefit of their succession: but yet bindeth not his Neices Daughters, to wit, the Daughters of *Francis* and *Elenor* (if that they had any) to any such condition.

Adrian Stokes.

Thirdly, there may bee divers causes and arguments alleadged in law, why this pretended will is not authentickall: if otherwise, it were certaine that King *Henry* had meant it: First, for that it is not agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Parliament, which intended onely to give authority, for declaration and explication of the true title: and not for donation or intricating of the same, to the ruine of the Realme. Secondly, for that there is no lawfull and authentickall Copy extant thereof, but onely a bare inrolement in the Chancery, which is not sufficient in so weighty an affaire: no witsnesse of the Privy Councel or of Nobility to the same: which had beene convenient in so great a case (for the best of the witnesses therein named, is Sir *Iohn Gates*, whose miserable death is well knowne:) no publike Notary: no Probation of the will before any Bishop, or any lawfull Court for that purpose: no examination of the witnesses: or other thing orderly done, for lawfull authorizing of the matter.

The third reason.
The presupposed Will is not authentickall.

But of all other things this is most of importance: that the King never set his owne hand to the foresaid Will, but his stamp was put thereunto by others, either after his death, or when hee was past remembrance: as the late Lord *Paget* in the beginning of Queen *Maries* dayes, being of the Privy Councell, first of all other discovered the same, of his owne accord, and

The disproving of the Will by witnesses.

The Lord *Paget*.

upon meere motion of conscience, confessing before the whole Councell, and afterward also before the whole Parliament, how that himselfe was privy thereunto, and partly also culpable, (being drawn thereunto, by the instigation and forcible authority of others :) but yet afterward upon other more godly motions detested the device : and so of his owne free will, very honorably went and offered the discovery thereof to the Councell. As also did Sir *Edward Montague*, Lord chiefe justice, that had beene privy and present at the said doings, and one *William Clarke*, that was the man who put the stamp unto the paper, and is ascribed among the other pretended witnesses, confessed the whole premisses to bee true, and purchased his pardon for his offence therein. Whereupon *Queene Mary* and her Councell, caused presently the said inrolement, lying in the Chancery, to be canceled, defaced and abolished.

Sir *Edward Montague*.

William Clarke.

And sithence that time in her Majesties dayes that now liveth about the 11. or 12. yeare of her raigne, (if I count not amisse) by occasion of a certaine little booke spred abroad at that time, very secretly, for advancing of the house of *Suffolke*, by pretence of this Testament : I remember well the place where the late Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marquesse of *Winchester* (which then was Treasurer) the old Earles of *Arundell* and

A meeting together about this matter of the nobility.

Penbrooke that now are dead, with my Lord of *Penbrooke* that yet liveth, (as also my Lord of *Leycester* himselfe if I bee not deceived) with divers others, met together upon this matter: and after long conference about the foresaid pretended will, and many proofes and reasons laid downe, why it could not bee true or authenticall: the old Earle of *Penbrooke* protesting that hee was with the King in his Chamber from the first day of his sicknesse unto his last houre, and thereby could well assure the falsification thereof: at length it was moved, that from that place they should goe, with the rest of the Nobility, and proclaime the Queene of *Scotland* heire apparent in *Cheapside*. Wherein my Lord of *Leycester* (as I take it) was then as forward as any man els: how bee it, now, for his profit, hee bee turned aside, and would turne back againe tomorrow next, for a greater commodity.

My Lord of
Leycester
again
playeth
double.

And albeit, for some causes to themselves best knowne, they proceeded not in the open publishing of their determination at that time: yet my Lord of *Penbrooke* now living, can beare witnesse that thus much is true: and that his Father the old Earle at that time, told him openly before the other Noblemen, that hee had brought him to that assembly and place, to instruct him in that truth, and to charge him, to witnesse the same, and to defend it also, with his

The old Earl
of *Pembrooks*
admonition,
to the Earle
his Sonne yet
living.

sword (if need required) after his death. And I know that his Lordship is of that honour and nobility, as hee can not leave of easily the remembrance or due regard of so worthy an admonition. And this shall suffice for the second impediment, imagined to proceed of this supposed Testament of King *Henry* the eight.

The third
impediment
of Religion.

As for the third impediment, of religion, it is not generall to all: for that onely one person (if I bee not deceived) of all the Competitours in King *Henries* line, can bee touched with suspicion of different religion, from the present state of *England*. Which person notwithstanding (as is well knowne) while shee was in government in her owne Realme of *Scotland*, permitted all liberty of conscience, and free exercise of religion, to those of the contrary profession and opinion, without restraint. And if shee had not: yet do I not see, either by prescript of law, or practise of these our times, that diversity of religion, may stay just inheritours from enjoying their due possessions, in any state or degree of private men: and much lesse in the claime of a Kingdome: which alwayes in this behalfe (as hath beene said before) is preferred in priviledge.

Princes of
Germany.

This wee see by experience, in divers Countries and parts of the World at this day: as in *Germany*, where among so many Princes, and so devided in

religion as they bee : yet every one succeedeth to the state, whereto hee hath right, without resistance for his religion. The examples also of her Majesty that now is, and of her sister before, is evident : who being knowne to bee of two different inclinations in religion, and the whole Realme devided in opinion for the same cause : yet both of them at their severall times with generall consent of all, were admitted to their lawfull inheritance : excepting onely a few *traytours against the former, who withstood her right as also in her, the right of her Majesty that is present, and that not for religion (as appeared by their owne confession after) but for ambition and desire of raigne. Monsieur, the Kings brother and heire of *France*, as all the World knoweth, is well accepted, favored and admitted for successour of that Crowne, by all the Protestants at this day of that Countrey, notwithstanding his opinion in religion knowne to bee different. And I doubt not, but the King of *Navarre* or Prince of *Condy*, in the contrary part, would thinke themselves greatly injured by the state of *France*, which is different from them in religion at this day, if after the death of the King that now is and his brother without issue, (if God so dispose) they should bee barred from inheriting the Crowne, under pretence onely of their religion. My Lord of *Huntington* himselfe also, is hee not

Queene *Mary*.
Queene
Elizabeth.

* The *Dudleys*
Monsieur.

King of
Navarre
Prince of
Condy.

My Lord of
Huntingtons
religion.

knowne to bee of a different religion from the present state of *England*? and that, if hee were King to morrow next, hee would alter the whole governement, order, condition, and state of religion, now used and established, within the Realme?

The title of
those which
ensue the
Queene of
Scots.

But as I said in the beginning, if one of a whole Family, or of divers Families, bee culpable, or to bee touched herein: what have the rest offended thereby? will you exclude all, for the mislike of one? And to descend in order: if the first in King *Henries* line, after her Majesty may bee touched in this point, yet, why should the rest hee damnified thereby? The King of *Scotland* her Sonne, that next ensueth (to speake in equity) why should hee bee shut out for his religion? And are not all the other in like manner Protestants, whose discent is consequent, by nature, order, and degree?

Schollar.

The yong
King of
Scotland.

For the yong King of *Scotland* (quoth I) the truth is, that alwayes for mine owne part, I have had great hope and expectation of him, not onely for the conceipt which commonly men have of such Orient youths, borne to Kingdomes: but especially for that I understood from time to time, that his education was in all learning, princely exercises and instruction of true religion, under rare and vertuous men for that purpose. Whereby I conceived hope, that hee might

not onely become in time, an honourable and profitable neighbour unto us, for assurance of the Gospell in these parts of the World: but also (if God should deprive us of her Majesty without issue) might bee a meane by his succession to unite in Concord and Governement, the two Realmes together, which heretofore hath beene fought, by the price of many a thousand mens blood, and not obtained.

Marry yet now of late (I know not by what meanes) there is begun in mens hearts a certaine mislike or grudge against him, for that it is given out every where that hee is inclined to bee a Papist, and an enemy to her Majesties proceedings. Which argueth him verily, of singular ingratitude, if it bee true, considering the great helps and protection which hee hath received from her highnesse ever sithence hee was borne.

And are you so simple (quoth the Gentleman) as to beleeeve every report that you heare of this matter? know you not, that it is expedient for my Lord of *Leycester* and his faction, that this youth, above all other, bee held in perpetuall disgrace with her Majesty and with this Realme? You know, that *Richard of Gloucester* had never beene able to have usurped as hee did, if hee had not first perswaded King *Edward* the fourth to hate his owne Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, which Duke stood in the way, betweene *Richard* and

Gentleman.

The device to
set out her
Majesty with
the yong King
of Scotland.

the thing, which hee most of all things coveted. That is, the possibility to the Crowne, and so in this case is there the like device to bee observed.

For truly, for the yong King of *Scotlands* religion, it is evident to as many as have reason, that it can bee no other of it selfe but inclined to the best : both in respect of his education, instruction, and conversation, with those of true religion : as also by his former Actions, Edicts, Governement, and private behaviour, hee hath declared. Marry these men whose profit is nothing lesse, then that hee or any other of that race should doe well : doe not cease dayly by all secret wayes, drifts, and molestations possible, to drive him either to mislike of our religion, or els to incurre the suspition thereof, with such of our Realme, as otherwise would bee his best friends : or if not this : yet for very need and feare of his owne life, to make recourse to such other Princes abroad, as may most offend or mislike this state.

The
intollerable
proceedings
of certain
Ministers in
Scotland
against their
King by
subordination
of his enemies
in *England*.

And for this cause, they suborne certaine busie fellowes of their owne crew and faction, pertaining to the ministry of *Scotland*, (but unworthy of so worthy a calling) to use such insolency towards their King and Prince, as is not onely undecent, but intollerable. For hee may doe no thing, but they will examine and discusse the same in Pulpit. If hee goe but on hunting,

when it pleaseth them to call him to their preaching : if hee make but a dinner or supper, when, or where, or with whom they like not : if hee receive but a couple of horses or other present from his friends or kinsmen beyond the seas ; if hee salute or use courteously any man or messenger which commeth from them (as you know Princes of their nobility and courtesie are accustomed, though they come from their enemies, as often hath beene seene and highly commended in her Majesty of *England* :) if hee deale familiarly with any Ambassadour which liketh not them : or finally if hee doe say, or signifie, any one thing whatsoever, that pleaseth not their humour : they will presently, as seditious tribunes of the people, exclaime in publike, and stepping to the Pulpit where the word of the Lord onely ought to bee preached : will excite the commonalty to discontentation, inveying against their soveraigne with such bitterness of speech, unreverend tearmes, and insolent controlements, as is not to bee spoken ; Now imagine what her Majesty and her grave councill would doe in *England*, if such proceedings should bee used, by the Cleargy against them.

No doubt (quoth I) but that such unquiet Spirits *Schollar.* should bee punished in our Realme. And so I said of late to their most reverend and worthy Prelate and

Sir Patrick
Adamson
Archbishop
of Saint
Andrewes.

Primate the Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes*, with whom it was my luck to come acquainted in *London*, whither hee was come by his Kings appointment (as hee said) to treat certaine affaires with our Queene and Councell. And talking with him of this disorder of his ministry, hee confessed the same with much griefe of mind, and told mee, that hee had preached thereof before the King himselfe, detesting and accusing divers heads thereof, for which cause, hee was become very odious to them and other of their faction, both in *Scotland* and *England*. But hee said, that as hee had given the reasons of his doings unto our Queene: so meaneth hee shortly to doe the same unto Monsieur *Beza*, and to the whole Church of *Geneva*, by sending thither the Articles of his and their doings. Protesting unto mee that the proceedings and attempts of those factious and corrupt men, was most scandalous, seditious and perilous, both to the Kings person, and to the Realme: being sufficient indeed, to alienate wholly the yong Prince from all affection to our religion, when hee shall see the chiefe Professours thereof, to behave themselves so undutifully towards him.

Gentleman.

That is the thing which these men, his competitors, most desire (quoth the Gentleman) hoping thereby, to procure him most evill will and danger,

both at home and from *England*. For which cause also, they have practized so many plots and treacheries with his owne subjects against him: hoping by that meanes, to bring the one in distrust and hatred of the other, and consequently the King in danger of destruction by his owne. And in this machination, they have behaved themselves so dexterously, so covertly used the mannage and contriving hereof, and so cunningly conveyed the execution of many things: as it might, indeed, seeme apparent unto the yong King, that the whole plot of treasons against his Realme and Person, doth come from *England*, thereby to drive him into jealousie of our state, and our state of him: and all this for their owne profit.

Treasons
plotted
against the
King of Scots.

Neither is this any new device of my Lord of *Leycester*, to draw men for his owne gaine, into danger and hatred with the state, under other pretences. For I could tell you divers stories and stratagemes of his cunning in this kind, and the one farre different from the other in device: but yet all to one end. I have a friend yet living, that was towards the old Earle of *Arundell*, in good credit, and by that meanes had occasion to deal with the late Duke of *Norfolke* in his chieftest affaires before his troubles. This man is wont to report strange things from the Dukes owne mouth, of my Lord of *Leycesters* most treacherous dealing

Leycesters
cunning
device for
overthrowing
the Duke of
Norfolke.

The
impudency of
Judas.

towards him, for gaining of his blood, as after appeared: albeit the Duke when hee reported the same, mistrusted not so much my Lords malice therein. But the summe of all, is this in effect: that *Leycester* having a secret desire, to pull downe the said Duke, to the end that hee might have no man above himselfe, to hinder him in that which hee most desireth: by a thousand cunning devises drew in the Duke to the cogitation of that marriage with the Queene of *Scotland*, which afterward was the cause or occasion of his ruine. And hee behaved himselfe so dexterously in this drift, by setting on the Duke on the one side, and intrapping him on the other: as *Iudas* himselfe never played his part more cunningly, when hee supped with his Master, and set himselfe so neere, as hee dipped his spoone in the same dish, and durst before others aske, who should betray him? meaning that night, to doe it himselfe, as hee shewed soone after supper, when hee came as a Captaine with a band of conspiratours, and with a courteous kisse delivered his person, into the hands of them, whom hee well knew to thirst after his blood.

The very like did the Earle of *Leycester* with the Duke of *Norfolke* for the art of treason, though in the parties betrayed there were great difference of inno-
cency. Namely, at one time, when her Majesty was

at *Basing* in *Hampshire*, and the Duke attended there to have audience, with great indifferency in himselfe, to follow or leave off his sute for marriage: (for that now he began to suspect, Her Maiesty liked not greatly thereof :) my Lord of *Leicester* came to him, and counselled him in any case to persevere and not to relent, assuring him with many oaths and protestations, that Her Majesty must and should be brought to allow thereof, whether she would or no, and that himselfe would seale that purpose with his blood. Neither was it to be suffered that Her Maiesty should have her will herein; with many other like speeches to this purpose: which the Duke repeated againe then presently to my said friend: with often laying his hand upon his bosome, and saying; I have here which assureth me sufficiently of the fidelity of my Lord of *Leicester*; meaning not only the foresaid speechs, but also divers letters which he had written to the Duke of that effect, as likewise he had done to some other person of more importance in the Realme; which matter comming afterward to light, he cousened most notably her Maiesty, by shewing her a reformed copie of the said Letter, for the letter it selfe.

The speeches
of *Leicester* to
the Duke of
Norfolke.

Leicest.
cousenage of
the Queene.

But now how well hee performed his promise, in dealing with her Majesty for the Duke, or against the Duke in this matter, her Highnesse can best tell, and

the event it selfe shewed. For the Duke being admitted soone after to Her Majesties speech, at an other place, and receiving a far other answer then hee had in hope conceived upon *Leicesters* promises : rettyred himselfe to *London*, where the same night following hee received letters both from *Leycester*, and Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, upon *Leicesters* instigation (for they were at that time both friends and of a faction) that he should presently flee into *Norfolke* as hee did, which was the last and finall complement of all *Leicesters* former devices, whereby to plunge his friend over the eares in suspition and disgrace, in such sort, as he should never be able to draw himselfe out of the ditch againe, as indeed he was not, but died in the same.

The Duke of
Norfolkes
flying into
Norfolke.

Machivilian
Sleights.

And herein you see also the same subtile and Machivilian sleight, which I mentioned before, of driving men to attempt somewhat, whereby they may incurre danger, or remaine in perpetuall suspition or disgrace. And this practice hee hath long used, and doth daily, against such as he hath will to destroy. As for example : What say you to the device he had of late, to intrap his well deserving friend, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, in the matter of *Hall* his Priest, whom hee would have had Sir *Christopher* to send away and hide, being touched and detected in the case of

Leicesters
devices for
the overthrow
of Sir
Christopher
Hatton.

Ardent, thereby to have drawne in Sir *Christopher* himselfe, as Sir *Charles Candish* can well declare, if it please him, being accessary to this plot, for the overthrow of Sir *Christopher*. To which intent and most devilish drift pertained (I doubt not) if the matter were duly examined, the late interception of letters in *Paris* from one *Aldred* of *Lyons* then in *Rome*, to *Henry Vmpton*, servant to Sir *Christopher*, in which letters, Sir *Christopher* is reported to be of such credit and speciall favour in *Rome*, as if hee were the greatest Papist in *England*.

What meaneth also these pernicious late dealings against the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, a man of the most ancient and worthiest Nobility of our Realme? what meane the practises with his nearest both in bed and blood against him? what meane these most false and slanderous rumours cast abroad of late of his disloyall demeanures towards her Majesty and his countrey, with the great prisoner committed to his charge? Is all this to any other end, but only to drive him to some impatience, and thereby to commit or say something which may open the gate unto his ruine? Divers other things could I recite of his behaviour towards other noble men of the Realm, who live abroad in their countries much iniured and malcontented by his insolencie: albeit in respect of his present power they

Leicesters
devices
against the
Earle of
Shrewsbury.

*Leicesters
contempt of
the ancient
Nobility of
England.*

dare not complaine. And surely it is strange to see, how little account hee maketh of all the ancient Nobility of our Realme: how he contemneth, derideth and debaseth them: which is the fashion of all such as mean to usurpe, to the end they may have none who shal not acknowledge their first beginning and advancement from themselves.

Lawyer.

*New men
most con-
temptuous.*

Not only Vsurers (quoth the Lawyer) but all others who rise and mount aloft from base lynage, bee ordinarily most contemptuous, contumultuous, & insolent against others of more antiquity. And this was evident in this mans father, who being a Bucke of the first head (as you know) was intolerable in contempt of others: as appeareth, by those whom hee trode downe of the Nobility in his time: as also by his ordinary jests against the Duke of *Somerset* and others.

*Duke Dudley
est at the
Earle of
Arundel.*

But among other times, sitting one day at his owne table (as a Counsellor told me that was present) hee tooke occasion to talke of the Earle of *Arundel* whom he then had not only removed from the Counsell, but also put into the Tower of *London*, being (as is well knowne) the first and chiefest Earle of the Realme. And for that the said Earle, shewed himselfe somewhat sad and afflicted with his present state (as I marvel not, seeing himselfe in prison, and within the compasse of so fierce a Bears pawes) it pleased this goodly

Duke, to vaunt upon this Earles misery, at his owne table (as I have said) and asked the noble men and Gentlemen there present, what Crest or Cognizance my Lord of *Arundel* did give? and when every one ansuured, that he gave the white Horse: I thought so (quoth the Duke) and not without great cause: for as the white Paulfrey when hee standeth in the stable, and is well provendred, is proud and fierce, and ready to leape upon every other horses back, still neying and prauncing, and troubling all that stand about him: but when hee is once out of his hoat stable, and deprived a little of his ease and fat feeding, every boy may ride and master him at his pleasure: so it is (quoth he) with my Lord of *Arundel*: Whereat many marvelled that were present, to heare so insolent speech passe from a man of judgement, against a Peere of the Realme, cast into calamity.

But you would more have marvelled (quoth the Gentleman) if you had seene that, which I did afterward, which was the most base and abject behaviour of the same Duke, to the same Earle of *Arundel* at *Cambridge*, and upon the way towards *London*: when this Earle was sent to apprehend and bring him up, as prisoner. If I should tell you how hee fell downe on his knees, how he wept, how he besought the said Earle to be a good Lord vnto him, whom a little

Gentleman.

The most
abject
behaviour of
duke *Dudley*
in adverse
fortunes.

before he had so much contemned and reproached: you would have said, that himselfe might as well be compared to this his white Paulfrey as the other. Albeit in this, I will excuse neither of them both, neither almost any other of these great men, who are so proud and insolent in their prosperous fortune, as they are easily led to contemne any man, albeit themselves be most contemptible of all others, whensoever their fortune beginneth to change: and so will my Lord of *Leicester* be also, no doubt at that day, though now in his wealth he triumph over all, and careth not whom, or how many hee offend and injure.

Scholler.

*Leicesters base
behaviour in
adversity.*

*Leicesters
deceiving of
Sir Christo-
pher Hatton.*

Sir therein I beleeeve you (quoth I) for wee have had sufficient tryall already of my Lords fortitude in adversity. His base and abiect behaviour in his last disgrace about his marriage, well declared what he would doe, in a matter of more importance. His fawning and flattering of them, whom he hated most: his servile speeches, his feigned and dissembled teares, are all very well knowne: Then Sir *Christopher Hatton*, must needs be inforced, to receive at his hands the honourable and great office of Chamberlainship of *Chester*, for that he would by any means resign the same unto him, whether he would or no: and made him provide (not without his charge) to receive the same, though his Lordship never meant it, as after

well appeared. For that the present pange being past, it liked my Lord to fulfill the Italian Proverbe, of such as in dangers make vowes to Saints: *Scampato il pericolo, gabbato il Santo*, the danger escaped, the Saint is deceived.

Then, and in that necessity, no men of the Realme were so much honoured, commended and served by him, as the noble Chamberlaine deceased, and the good Lord Treasurer yet living: to whom, at a certaine time, hee wrote a letter, in all fraud and base dissimulation, and caused the same to bee delivered with great cunning in the sight of her Maiesty; and yet so, as to shew a purpose that it should not be seen: to the end, her Highnesse might the rather take occasion to call for the same and reade it, as she did. For Mistris *Frances Haward* (to whom the stratagem was committed) playing her part dexterously, offered to deliver the same to the Lord Treasurer, neere the doore of the with-drawing Chamber, hee then comming from Her Majesty. And to draw the eye and attention of her Highnesse the more unto it, shee let fall the paper, before it touched the Treasurers hand, and by that occasion brought her Majesty to call for the same: Which after she had read and considered the stile, together with the metall and constitution of him that wrote it, and to whom it was sent: Her Highnesse

A pretty shift
of my Lord
Leicester.

Her Majesties
speech of
Leicester to
the Treasurer.

could not but breake forth in laughter, with detestation of such absurd and abieſt diſſimulation: ſaying unto my Lord Treasurer there preſent: my Lord beleeeve him not, for if hee had you in like caſe hee would play the Beare with you, though at this preſent hee fawne upon you never ſo faſt.

But now, Sir, I pray you goe forward in your ſpeech of *Scotland*, for there, I remember you left off, when by occaſion wee fell into theſe digreſſions.

Gentleman.

Well then (quoth the Gentleman) to returne againe to *Scotland* (as you move) from whence wee have digreſſed: moſt certaine and evident it is to all the world, that all the broyles, troubles, and dangers procured to the Prince in that countrey, as alſo the vexations of them, who any way are thought to favour that title in our owne Realme, doe proceed from the drift and complot of theſe conſpirators. Which beſides the great dangers mentioned before, both domeſticall and forraine, temporall, and of religion, muſt needs inferre great jeopardy alſo to Her Maieſties perſon and preſent reigne, that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the aſpirors ambition, inflamed and increased ſo much the more, by the nearneſſe of their deſired pray.

The danger
of her
Majeſtie by
oppreſſion of
the favourers
of the
Scottiſh title.

A Similie
true.

For as ſouldiers entred into hope of a rich and well furniſhed Citie, are more fierce and furious, when

they have gotten and beaten downe the Bul-workes round about : and as the greedy Burglarer that hath pearsed and broken downe many wals to come to a treasure, is lesse patient of stay, stop and delay, when hee commeth in sight of that which he desireth, or perceiveth only some partition of wane-skot or the like, betwixt his fingers and the cofers or money bags : so these men, when they shall see the succession of *Scotland* extinguished, together with all friends and favourers thereof, (which now are to Her Majesty as Bulwarkes and Walles, and great obstacles to the aspirors) and when they shall see only Her Majesties life and person, to stand betwixt them and their fiery desires, (for they make little account of all other Competitours by King *Henries* line :) no doubt, but it will be to them a great pricke and spurre, to dispatch Her Maiesty also : the nature of both Earles being well considered, whereof the one killed his own wife (as hath beene shewed before) enely upon a little vaine hope of marriage with a Queene, and the other being so farre blinded and borne away, with the same furious fume, and most impotent itching humour of ambition : as his owne mother, when she was alive, seemed greatly to feare his fingers, if once the matter should come so neere, as her life had only stood in his way. For which cause, the good old Countesse, was wont to

Earle of
Leicester.

Earle of
Huntington.

The old
Countesse of
Huntingtons
speech of her
sonne.

pray God (as I have heard divers say) that she might die before Her Majesty, (which happily was granted unto her) to the end that by standing in her sonnes way (who shee saw to her grieve, furiously bent to weare a Crowne :) their might not some dangerous extremity grow to her, by that nearnesse: And if his owne mother feared this mischance, what may her Majesty doubt, at his and his companions hands, when she only shall be the obstacle of all their unbridled and impatient desires ?

Lawyer.

Nearnesse in
competitors
doth incite
them to
adventure.

Cleare it is (quoth the Lawyer) that the nearnesse of aspirours to the Crowne, endangereth greatly the present possessors, as you have well proved by reason, and I could shew by divers examples, if it were need.

*Henry Buling-
brook after
King Henry
the fourth.*

For when *Henry Bullingbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaster* saw, not only *Richard* the second to be without issue, but also *Roger Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, that should have succeeded in the Crowne, to bee slaine in *Ireland*: though before (as is thought) hee meant not to usurpe, yet seeing the possibility and neere cut that he had: was invited therewith to lay hands of his Soveraignes blood and dignity, as he did. The like is thought of

*Richard duke
of Gloucester
after King
Richard the
third.*

Richard, Duke of *Glocester*, that he never meant the murder of his nephewes, until he saw their father dead, and themselves in his owne hands: his brother also Duke of *Clarence* dispatched, and his only sonne and heire Earle of *Warwicke*, within his owne power.

Wherefore, seeing it hath not pleased Almighty God, for causes to himselfe best knowne, to leave unto this noble Realme, any issue by her most excellent Majesty, it hath beene a point of great wisdom in mine opinion, and of great safety to Her Highnesse person, state, and dignity ; to preserve hitherto, the line of the next Inheritors by the house of *Scotland*, (I meane both the mother and the son) whose deaths hath beene so diligently sought, by the other competitors, and had beene long ere this atchieved, if her Majesties owne wisdom and Royall clemency (as is thought) had not placed speciall eye upon the conservation thereof, from time to time. Which princely providence, so long as it shall endure, must needs be a great safety and fortresse to Her Majesty, not onely against the claimes, ayds, or annoyance of forraine Princes who will not be so forward to advance strange titles, while so manifest heires remaine at home, nor yet so willing (in respect of policy) to helpe that line to possession of the whole Iland : but also against practices of domesticall aspirours (as you have shewed) in whose affaires no doubt but these two branches of *Scotland* are great blocks, as also special Bulwarkes to her Majesties life and person ; seeing (as you say) these copartners make so little account of all the other of that line, who should ensue by order of succession.

The great
wisdom of
her Majesty
in conserving
the next
heires of
Scotland.

The King of
Scotland's
destruction
of more
importance
to the
conspirators,
then his
mothers.

Marry yet of the two, I thinke the youth of *Scotland* be of much more importance for their purpose, to be made away, both for that he may have issue, and is like in time to be of more ability, for defence of his owne inheritance : as also for that hee being once dispatched, his mother should soone ensue, by one sleight or other, which they would devise unwitting to Her Majesty : albeit, I must needs confesse, that her Highnesse hath used most singular prudence for prevention thereof : in placing her restraint with so noble, strong, and worthy a Peere of our Realme, as the Earle of *Shrewsbury* is : whose fidelity and constancy being nothing pliable to the others faction, giveth them little contentation. And for that cause, the world seeth, how many sundry and divers devices they have used, and doe use daily to slaunder and disgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his charge committed.

The Earle of
Salisbury disgraced by the
competitors.

Gentleman.

To this the Gentleman answered nothing at all, but stood still musing with himselfe, as though he had conceived some deepe matter in his head : and after a little pause he began to say as followeth.

The vigilant
eye that her
Majesties
ancestors had
to the collateral line.

I cannot truly but much marvaile, when I doe compare some things of this time and government, with the doings of former Princes, progenitors to Her Maiesty. Namely of *Henry* the seventh, and *Henry* the eight : who had so vigilant an eye to the laterall

line of King *Edward* the fourth by his brother of *Clarence*, as they thought it necessary, not only to prevent all evident dangers that might ensue that way, but even the possibilities of all perill: as may well appeare by the execution of *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke* before named, Sonne and heire to the said Duke of *Clarence*, and of *Margaret* his Sister Countess of *Salisbury*, with the Lord *Henry Montague* her Sonne, by whose Daughter the Earle of *Huntington* now claimeth. All which were executed for avoiding of inconveniences, and that at such times, when no imminent danger could bee much doubted, by that Line, especially by the latter. And yet now when one of the same House and Line, of more ability and ambition, then ever any of his Ancestours were, maketh open title and claime to the Crowne, with plots, packs, and preparations to most manifest usurpation, against all order, all law, and all rightfull succession: and against a speciall statute provided in that behalfe: yet is hee permitted, borne out, favored, and friended therein: and no man so hardy, as in defence of her Majestie and Realme, to controle him for the same.

Persons
executed of
the House of
Clarence.

It may be, that her Majesty is brought into the same opinion of my Lord of *Huntingtons* fidelity, as *Iulius Cæsar* was of *Marcus Brutus*, his dearest obliged friend: of whose ambitious practises, and aspiring,

The example
of *Iulius*
Cæsars
destruction.

when *Cæsar* was advertised by his carefull friends: hee answered, that hee well knew *Brutus* to bee ambitious, but I am sure (quoth hee) that my *Brutus* will never attempt any thing for the Empire, while *Cæsar* liveth: and after my death, let him shift for the same among others, as hee can. But what ensued? Surely I am loth to tell the event, for ominations sake, but yet all the World knoweth, that ere many moneths passed, this most Noble and Clement Emperour, was pittifully murdered by the same *Brutus* and his Partners, in the publique Senate, when least of all hee expected such treason. So dangerous a thing it is, to bee secure in a matter of so great sequell, or to trust them with a mans life, who may pretend preferment or interest, by his death.

Wherefore, would God her Majesty in this case, might bee induced, to have such due care and regard of her owne estate and Royall person, as the weighty moment of the matter requireth: which containeth the blisse and calamity of so Noble and worthy a Kingdome, as this is.

Too much
confidence
very perilous
in a Prince.

I know right well, that most excellent natures are alwayes furthest off from diffidence in such people, as proves love, and are most bounden by duty: and so it is evident in her Majesty. But yet surely, this confidence so commendable in other men, is scarce allow-

able often times in the person of a Prince : for that it goeth accompanied with so great perill, as is inevitable to him that will not suspect principally when dangers are foretold or presaged, (as commonly by Gods appointment they are, for the speciall hand hee holdeth over Princes affaires,) or when there is probable conjecture, or just surmise of the same.

Wee know that the forenamed Emperour *Cæsar*, had not onely the warning given him of the inclination and intent of *Brutus* to usurpation, but even the very day when hee was going towards the place of his appointed destiny, there was given up into his hands a detection of the whole treason, with request to read the same presently, which hee upon confidence omitted to doe. Wee read also of *Alexander* the great, how hee was not onely forbidden by a learned man, to enter into *Babylon* (whether hee was then going) for that there was treason meant against him, in the place, but also that hee was foretold of *Antipaters* mischievous meaning against him, in particular. But the yong Prince having so well deserved of *Antipater* could not bee brought to mistrust the man that was so deare unto him: and by that meanes was poisoned in a banquet, by three Sonnes of *Antipater*, which were of most credit and confidence in the Kings Chamber.

The example
of *Alexander*
the great,
how he was
foretold his
danger.

Here, truly, my heart did somewhat tremble with *Scholler*.

feare, horreur, and detestation of such events. And I said unto the Gentleman. I beseech you, Sir, to talke no more of these matters, for I cannot well abide to heare them named: hoping in the Lord, that there is no cause, nor ever shall bee, to doubt the like in *England*: specially from these men who are so much bounden to her Majesty, and so forward in seeking out and pursuing all such, as may bee thought to be dangerous to her Majesties person, as by the sundry late executions wee have seene, and by the punishments every way of Papists, wee may perceive.

Late
executions.

Gentleman.

Truth it is (quoth the Gentleman) that justice hath beene done upon divers of late, which contenteth mee greatly, for the terrour and restraint of others, of what sect or religion soever they bee: And it is most necessary (doubtles) for the compressing of parties, that great vigilance bee used in that behalfe. But when I consider, that onely one kind of men are touched herein: and that all speech, regard, doubt, distrust, and watch, is of them alone; without reflexion of eye upon any other mens doings or designements: when I see the double diligence, and vehemency of certaine instruments, which I like not, bent wholly to rayse wonder and admiration of the people, feare, terrour, and attention, to the doings, sayings, and meanings of one part or faction alone, and of that

namely and onely, which these conspiratours esteeme for most dangerous and opposite to themselves: I am (believe mee) often tempted to suspect fraud and false measure: and that these men deale, as Wolves by nature in other Countries are wont to doe: Which going together in great numbers to assaile a flock of sheepe by night, doe set some one or two of their company upon the wind side of the fold a farre off, who partly by their sent and other bruteling which of purpose they make, may draw the dogges and shepheards to pursue them alone, whiles the other doe enter and slay the whole flock. Or as rebels that meaning to surprise a Towne, to turne away the Inhabitants from consideration of the danger, and from defence of that place, where they intend to enter: doe set on fire some other parts of the Towne further off, and doe sound a false alarme at some gate, where is meant least danger.

Fraud to bee feared in pursuing one part or faction onely.

The comparison of Wolves and Rebels.

Which art, was used cunningly by *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* in the time of King *Henry* the sixt, when hee to cover his owne intent: brought all the Realme in doubt of the doings of *Edmond* Duke of *Somerset*, his enemy. But *Iohn* of *Northumberland*, Father to my Lord of *Leycester*, used the same art much more skilfully, when hee put all *England* in a maze and musing of the Protectour and of his friends: as though nothing could bee safe about the yong King, untill they were

Richard Duke of *Yorke*.

Duke *Dudley*.

A good rule
of policy.

suppressed: and consequently, all brought into his owne authority, without obstacle. I speake not this, to excuse Papists, or to wish them any way spared wherein they offend: but onely to signifie that in a Countrey, where so potent factions bee, it is not safe, to suffer the one to make it selfe so puissant by pursuite of the other: as afterwards the Prince must remaine at the devotion of the stronger: but rather as in a body molested and troubled with contrary humours, if all cannot bee purged, the best Physick is, without all doubt, to reduce and hold them at such an equality: as destruction may not bee feared of the predominant.

To this said the Lawyer laughing, yea marry Sir. I would to God, your opinion might prevaile in this matter: for then should wee bee in other tearmes, then now wee are. I was not long since, in company of a certaine honourable Lady of the Court, who, after some speech passed by Gentlemen that were present, of some apprehended, and some executed, and such like affaires: brake into a great complaint of the present time, and therewith (I assure you) moved all the hearers to grieve (as women you know are potent in stirring of affections,) and caused them all to wish that her Majesty, had beene nigh to have heard her words.

The speech
of a certaine
Lady of the
Court.

I doe well remember (quoth shee) the first douzen yeares of her highnesse raigne, how happy, pleasant,

and quiet they were, with all manner of comfort and consolation. There was no mention then of factions in religion, neither was any man much noted or rejected for that cause : so otherwise his conversation were civill and courteous. No suspition of treason, no talke of bloudshed, no complaint of troubles, miseries or vexations. All was peace, all was love, all was joy, all was delight. Her Majesty (I am sure) tooke more recreation at that time, in one day, then she doth now in a whole weeke : and wee that served her highnesse, enjoyed more contentation in a weeke, then wee can now in divers yeares. For now, there are so many suspitions, every where, for this thing and for that : as wee cannot tell whom to trust. So many melancholique in the Court, that seeme male-contented : so many complaining or suing for their friends that are in trouble : other slip over the Sea, or retire themselves upon the sudden : so many tales brought us of this or that danger, of this man suspected, of that man sent for up, and such like unpleasant and unsavory stuffe : as wee can never almost bee merry one whole day together.

Wherefore (quoth this Lady) wee that are of her Majesties traine and speciall service, and doe not onely feel these things in our selves, but much more in the grieve of her most excellent Majesty, whom wee see

More
moderation
wished in
matters of
faction.

daily molested herewith (being one of the best natures, I am sure, that ever noble Princesse was indued with all;) wee cannot but mone, to behold contentions advanced so farre forth as they are: and wee could wish most hartily that for the time to come, these matters might passe with such peace, friendship and tranquility, as they doe in other Countries: where difference in religion breaketh not the band of good fellowship, or fidelity. And with this in a smiling manner, shee brake off: asking pardon of the company, if shee had spoken her opinion, over boldly, like a woman.

The speech
of a Courtier.

To whom, answered a Courtier, that sat next her: Madame, your Ladiship hath said nothing in this behalfe, that is not dayly debated among us, in our Common speech in Court, as you know. Your desire also herein is a publique desire, if it might bee brought to passe: for there is no man so simple, that seeth not, how perillous these contentions and divisions among us, may bee in the end. And I have heard divers Gentlemen, that bee learned, discourse at large upon this argument: alleaging old examples of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Romans*, who received notable dammages, and destruction also, in the end, by their divisions and factions among themselves: and specially from them of their owne Cities and

This perill of
divisions and
factions in a
Common-
wealth.

Countries, who upon factions lived abroad with Forrainers : and thereby were always as fire-brands to carry home the flame of Warre, upon their Countrey.

The like, they also shewed by the long experience of all the great Cities and States of *Italy* : which by their factious and foruscites, were in continuall garboile, bloudshed and misery. Whereof our owne Countrey hath tasted also her part, by the odious contention betweene the Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke* : wherein it is marvailous to consider, what trouble a few men oftentimes, departing out of the Realme, were able to worke, by the part of their faction remaining at home (which commonly encreaseth towards them that are absent,) and by the readines of forraine Princes, to receive alwayes, and comfort such, as are discontented in an other state : to the end, that by their meanes, they might hold an ore in their neighbours bote ; Which, Princes that are nigh borderers, doe alwayes, above all other things most covet and desire.

This was that Courtiers speech and reason, whereby I perceived, that as well among them in Court, as among us in the Realme and Countrey abroad, the present inconvenience and dangerous sequell of this our home dissension, is espied : and consequently most English hearts inclined to wish the remedy or

The dangerous sequell of dissension in our Realme.

prevention thereof, by some reasonable moderation, or re-union among our selves. For that the prosecution of these differences to extremity, cannot but after many wounds and exulcerations bring matters finally to rage, fury and most deadly desperation.

Whereas on the other side, if any sweet qualification, or small tolleration among us, were admitted: there is no doubt, but that affaires would passe in our Realme, with more quietnes, safety and publique weale of the same, then it is like it will doe long: and men would easily bee brought, that have English bowels, to joyne in the preservation of their Countrey, from ruine, bloudshed, and forraine oppression, which desperation of factions is wont to procure.

Gentleman.
Examples of
tolleration
in matters of
Religion.
Germany.

I am of your opinion (quoth the Gentleman) in that, for I have seene the experience thereof, and all the World beholdeth the same at this day, in all the Countries of *Germany*, *Polonia*, *Bæmland*, and *Hungary*: where a little bearing of the one with the other, hath wrought them much ease, and continued them a peace whereof all *Europe* besides, hath admiration and envy. The first douzen yeares also of her Majesties raigne, whereof your Lady of the Court discoursed before, can well bee a witnesse of the same: Wherein the commiseration and lenity that was used towards those of the weaker sort, with a certaine sweet diligence for

their gaining, by good meanes, was the cause of much peace, contentation, and other benefit to the whole body.

Wee see in *France*, that by over much pressing of one part onely, a fire was inkindled not many yeares since, like to have consumed and destroyed the whole : had not a necessary molification beene thought upon, by the wisest of that King's Councell, full contrary to the will and inclination of some great personages, who meant perhaps to have gained more by the other. And since that time, wee see what peace, wealth and re-union, hath insued in that Countrey, that was so broken, dissevered and wasted before. And all this, by yeelding a little in that thing, which no force can master, but exulcerate rather, and make worse : I meane the conscience and judgement of men in matters of religion.

The breach
and re-union
again in
France.

The like also I could name you in *Flaunders*, where after all these broyles and miseries, of so many yeares warres (caused principally by too much streyning in such affaires at the beginning) albeit, the King be never so strict-laced, in yeelding to publike liberty, and free exercise on both parts : yet is he descended to this at length (and that upon force of reason) to abstain from the pursuite and search of mens consciences, not onely in the townes, which upon composition hee receiveth,

Flanders.

but also where hee hath recovered by force, as in *Tornay*, and other places : where I am informed that no man is searched, demanded, or molested for his opinion or conscience, nor any act of Papistry or contrary religion required at their hands : but are permitted to liue quietly to God and themselves, at home in their owne houses : so they perform otherwise, their outward obedience and duties to their Prince and countrey. Which only qualification, tollerance, and moderation in our Realme (if I be not deceived, with many more that be of my opinion) would content all divisions, factions, and parties among us, for their continuance in peace : be they Papists, Puritanes, Familiars, or of whatsoever nice difference or section besides, and would be sufficient to retaine all parties, within a temperate obedience to the Magistrate and government, for conservation of their countrey : which were of no small importance to the contentation of Her Majesty, and weale publike of the whole kingdome.

Moderation
impugned
by the
conspirators.
Cicero.
Cateline.

But what should I talke of this thing, which is so contrary to the desires and designments of our puissant Conspirators ? What should *Cicero* the Senator use perswasions to Captaine *Cateline*, and his crew, that quietnesse and order were better then hurleburles ? Is it possible that our Aspirours will ever permit any such thing, cause, or matter, to be treated in our state,

as may tend to the stability of Her Majesties present government. No surely, it standeth nothing with their wisdoms or policie : especially at this instant, when they have such opportunity of following their owne actions in Her Majesties name, under the vizard and pretext, of her defence and safety : having sowed in every mans head, so many imaginations of the dangers present both abroad and at home : from *Scotland*, *Flanders*, *Spaine* and *Ireland* : so many conspiracies, so many intended murders, and others so many contrived or conceived mischieves : as my Lord of *Leicester* assureth himselfe, that the troubled water cannot bee cleared againe, in short space, nor his baits and lines laid therein, easily espied : but rather, that hereby ere long, hee will catch the fish he gapeth so greedily after : and in the meane time, for the pursute of these crimes, and other that daily he will find out, himselfe must remaine perpetuall Dictator.

The
Conspirators
opportunity.

But what meaneth this so much inculcating of troubles, treasons, murders, and invasions ? I like not surely these ominous speeches. And as I am out of doubt, that *Leicester* the caster of these shadowes, doth looke to play his part, first in these troublesome affaires : so doe I heartily feare, that unlesse the tyrannie of this *Leicestrian* fury be speedily stopped, that such misery to Prince, and people (which the

Lord for his mercies sake turne from us) as never greater fell before to our miserable countrey : is farre nearer hand then is expected or suspected.

Leicester
to be called
to account.

And therefore, for prevention of these calamities, to tell you plainely mine opinion (good Sirs) and therewith to draw to an end of this our conference (for it waxeth late :) I would thinke it the most necessary point of all for Her Majesty to call his Lordship to account among other, and to see what other men could say against him, at length, after so many yeares of his sole accusing and pursuing of others. I know and am very well assured, that no one act which Her Majesty hath done since her comming to the Crowne (as she hath done right many most highly to be commended) nor any that lightly Her Majesty may doe hereafter, can be of more vtilitie to Her selfe, and to the Realme, or, more gratefull unto her faithfull and zealous subiects then this noble act of Justice would bee, for tryall of this mans deserts towards his countrey.

I say it would be profitable to Her Maiestie, and to the Realme, not only in respect of the many dangers before mentioned, hereby to bee avoyded, which are like to ensue most certainly, if his courses be still permitted: but also, for that Her Maiesty shall by this, deliver Her selfe from that generall grudge and grieve of mind, with great dislike, which many subiects, other-

wise most faithfull, have conceived against the excessive favour shewed to this man so many yeares, without desert or reason. Which favour, he having used to the hurt, annoyance and oppression both of infinit severall persons, and the whole Common-wealth (as hath beene said :) the griefe and resentment thereof, doth redound commonly in such cases, not onely upon the person dilinquent alone, but also upon the Soveraigne, by whose favour and authority hee offereth such iniuries, though never so much against the others intent, will, desire, or meaning.

And hereof we have examples of sundry Princes, in all ages and countries ; whose exorbitant favour to some wicked subiect that abused the same : hath beene the cause of great danger and ruin : the sinnes of the Favourite, being returned, and revenged upon the Favourer. As in the Historie of the *Grecians* is declared, by occasion of the pittifull murder of that wise and victorious Prince *Philip* of *Macedonie*, who albeit, that he were well assured to have given no offence of himselfe to any of his subjects, and consequently feared nothing, but conversed openly and confidently among them : yet, for that hee had favoured too much one Duke *Attalus*, a proud and insolent Courtier, and had borne him out in certaine of his wickednesse, or at least, not punished the same after it was detected

The death of
King *Philip*
of *Macedonie*,
and cause
thereof.

Pausanias.

and complayned upon : the parties grieved, accounting the crime more proper and hainous on the part of him, who by office should doe iustice, and protect other, then of the Perpetrator, who followeth but his owne passion and sensuality; let passe *Attalus*, and made their revenge upon the blood and life of the King himselfe, by one *Pausanius*, suborned for that purpose, in the marriage day of the Kings owne daughter.

Great store of like examples might be repeated, out of the stories of other countries, nothing being more usuall or frequent among all nations, then the afflictions of Realmes and kingdomes, and the overthrow of Princes and great Potentates themselves, by their too much affection towards some unworthy particular persons: a thing indeed so common and ordinary, as it may well seeme to be the specialest Rock of all other, whereat Kings and Princes do make their shipwracks.

For if wee looke into the states and Monarchies of all Christendome, and consider the ruines that have bin of any Princes or Ruler within the same: wee shall find this point to have beene a great and principall part of the cause thereof: and in our owne state and countrey, the matter is too too evident. For whereas, since the conquest wee number principally, three iust and lawfull Kings: to have come to

confusion, by alienation of their subjects : that is, *Edward* the second, *Richard* the second, and *Henry* the sixth, this only point of too much favour towards wicked persons, was the chiefest cause of destruction in all three. As in the first, the excessive favour towards *Peter Gaveston* and two of the *Spencers*. In the second, the like extraordinary, and indiscreet affection towards *Robert Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, and Marquesse of *Dubline*, and *Thomas Mowbray*, two most turbulent and wicked men, that set the King against his owne Vncles and the Nobility.

Kings of
England
overthrowne
by too much
favouring of
some parti-
cular men.

K. Edward 2.

K. Richard 2.

In the third (being a simple and holy man) albeit, no great exorbitant affection was seene towards any, yet his wife, Queene *Margarets* too much favour and credit (by him not controled) towards the Marques of *Suffolke*, that after was made Duke, by whose instinct and wicked counsell, she made away first the noble Duke of *Glocester*, and afterward committed other things in great preiudice of the Realme, and suffered the said most impious & sinfull Duke, to range & make havocke of all sort of subiects at his pleasure (much after the fashion of the Earle of *Leicester* now, though yet not in so high and extreme a degree : (this I say was the principall and originall cause, both before God and man, (as *Polidore* well noteth) of all the calamity and extreme desolation, which after ensued both to the

K. Henry 6.

Pol. lib. 25.
hist. Angl.

King, Queene, and their only child, with the utter extirpation of their family.

And so likewise now to speak in our particular case, if there be any grudge or grieve at this day, any mislike, repining, complaint or murmure against Her Majesties government, in the hearts of her true and faithfull subiects, who wish amendment of that which is amisse, and not the overthrow of that which is well: (as I trow it were no wisdome to imagine there were none at all:) I dare avouch upon conscience, that either all, or the greatest part thereof, proceedeth from this man: who by the favour of her Maiesty so afflicteth her people, as never did before him, either *Gaveston*, or *Spencer*, or *Vere*, or *Mowbray*, or any other mischievous Tyrant, that abused most his Princes favour within our Realme of *England*. Whereby it is evident, how profitable a thing it should bee to the whole Realme how honourable to Her Maiestie, and how gratefull to all her subiects, if this man at length might be called to his account.

Lawyer.

Sir (quoth the Lawyer) you alleage great reason, and verily I am of opinion, that if her Majesty knew but the tenth part of this, which you have here spoken, as also her good subiects desires and complaint in this behalfe: shee would well shew, that Her Highnesse feareth not to permit iustice to passe upon *Leicester*, or

any other within her Realme, for satisfaction of her people, whatsoever some men may thinke and report to the contrary, or howsoever otherwise of her owne mild disposition, or good affection towards the person, shee have borne with him hitherto. For so wee see, that wise Princes can doe at times convenient, for peace and tranquillity, and publike weale: though contrary to their owne particular and peculiar inclination.

As to goe no further, then to the last example named and alleaged by your selfe before: though Queene *Margaret* the wife of King *Henry* the sixt, had favoured most unfortunately many yeares together, *William* Duke of *Suffolke* (as hath beene said) whereby he committed manifold out-rages, and afflicted the Realme by sundry meanes: yet shee being a woman of great prudence, when she saw the whole Communalty demand justice upon him for his demerites, albeit shee liked and loved the man still: yet for satisfaction of the people, upon so generall a complaint: she was content, first to commit him to prison, and afterward to banish him the Realme: but the providence of God would not permit him so to escape; for that hee being incountred, and taken upon the sea in his passage, hee was beheaded in the ship, and so received some part of condigne punishment for his most wicked, loose, and licentious life.

The
punishment
of *William*
Duke of
Suffolke.

And to seeke no more examples in this case, and wee know into what favour and speciall grace Sir *Edmond Dudley* my Lord of *Leycesters* good Grandfather was crept, with King *Henry* the seventh, in the latter end of his raigne: and what intollerable wickednesse and mischiefe hee wrought against the whole Realme, and against infinite particular persons of the same, by the polings and oppressions which hee practised: whereby though the King received great temporall commodity at that time, (as her Majesty doth nothing at all, by the present extortions of his Nephew:) yet for justice sake, and for meere compassion towards his afflicted subjects, that complained grievously of this iniquity: that most vertuous and wise Prince King *Henry*, was content to put from him, this lewd instrument, and devilish suggestour of new exactions: whom his Sonne *Henry*, that insued in the Crowne, caused presently before all other businesse, to bee called publicquely to accompt, and for his deserts to leefe his head: So as where the interest of a whole Realme, or common cause of many, taketh place: the private favour of any one, cannot stay a wise and godly Prince, (such as all the World knoweth her Majesty to bee) from permitting justice to have her free passage.

The
punishment
of *Edmond
Dudley*.

Gentleman.

Truly it should not (quoth the Gentleman) for to

that end were Princes first elected, and upon that consideration doe subjects pay them both tribute and obedience: to bee defended by them from injuries and oppressions, and to see lawes executed, and justice exercised, upon and towards all men, with indifferency. And as for our particular case of my Lord of *Leycester*, I doe not see in right and equity, how her Majesty may deny this lawfull desire and petition of her people. For if her highnesse doe permit and command the lawes dayly to passe upon thieves and murderers, without exception, and that for one fact onely, as by experience wee see: how then can it bee denied in this man, who in both kinds hath committed more enormous acts, then may bee well recounted.

The causes
why Princes
were chosen
and doe
receive
obedience.

As in the first, of theft, not onely by spoiling and oppressing almost infinite private men: but also whole Townes, Villages, Corporations, and Countries, by robbing the Realme with inordinate licences, by deceiving the Crowne, with racking, changing and imbezeling the lands, by abusing his Prince and sovereign in selling his favour both at home and abroad: with taking bribes for matter of justice, grace, request, supplication, or whatsoever sute els may depend upon the Court, or of the Princes authority: with setting at saile and making open market, of whatsoever her Majesty can give, doe, or procure, bee it spirituall or

Leycesters
Thefts.

temporall. In which sort of traffique, hee committeth more theft, often times in one day: then all the way-keepers, cut-purses, cousiners, pirats, burglares, or other of that art in a whole yeare, within the Realme.

Leycesters
murders.

And as for the second, which is murder, you have heard before somewhat said and prooved: but yet nothing, to that which is thought to have beene in secret committed upon divers occasions at divers times, in sundry persons, of different calling in both sexes, by most variable meanes of killing, poisoning, charming, inchanting, conjuring and the like: according to the diversity of men, places, oportunities and instruments for the same. By all which meanes, I thinke, hee hath more bloud lying upon his head at this day, crying vengeance against him at Gods hands and her Majesty, then ever had private man in our Countrey before, were hee never so wicked.

A heape of
Leycesters
enormities
that would
bee ready at
the day of his
triall.

Where to now, if wee add his other good behaviour, as his intollerable licentiousnesse in all filthy kind and manner of carnality, with all sort of Wives, Friends and Kinswomen: if wee add his injuries and dishonours, done hereby to infinite: if wee add his treasons, treacheries and conspiracies about the Crowne; his disloyall behaviour and hatred against her Majesty, his ordinary lying, and common perjuring

himselfe, in all matters for his gaine, both great and small; his rapes and most violent extortions upon the poore; his abusing of the Parliament and other places of justice, with the Nobility and whole communalty besides; if we add also his open injuries which hee offereth dayly to religion, and the Ministers thereof, by tithing them, and turning all to his owne gaine: together with his manifest and knowne tyranny practiced towards all estates abroad, throughout all Shires of the Kingdome: his dispoyling of both the Vniversities, and discouraging of infinite notable wits there, from seeking perfection of knowledge and learning, (which otherwise were like to become notable) especially in Gods word (which giveth life unto the soule,) by defrauding them of the price and reward proposed for their travaile in that kind, through his insatiable Simoniacall contracts: if I say, wee should lay together all these enormities before her Majesty, and thousands more in particular, which might and would bee gathered, if his day of triall were but in hope to bee granted. I doe not see in equity and reason, how her highnesse sitting in throne, and at the Royall Sterne, as shee doth, could deny her subjects this most lawfull request: considering, that every one of these crimes apart, requireth justice of his owne nature: and much more all together ought to obtaine

the same, at the hands of any good and godly Magistrate in the World.

Schollar.

Her Majesties
tender heart
towards the
Realme.

No doubt (quoth I) but that these considerations, must needs weigh much with any zealous Prince, and much more with her most excellent Majesty : whose tender heart towards her Realme and Subjects, is very well knowne of all men. It is not to bee thought also, but that her highnesse hath intelligence of divers of these matters alleaged, though not perhaps of all. But what would you have her Majesty to doe ? perhaps the consultation of this affaire, is not, what were convenient, but what is expedient : not, what ought to bee done in justice, but what may bee done in safety. You have described my Lord before to bee a great man, strongly furnished and fortified for all events. What if it bee not secure to bark at the Beare that is so well britched ? I speake unto you but that which I heere in *Cambridge* and other places, where I have passed : where every mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth not in free choise to doe what herselfe best liketh in that case, at this day.

Gentleman.

Leycesters
desire, that
men should
think her
Majesty to
stand in feare
of him.

I know (said the Gentleman) that *Leycesters* friends give it out every where, that her Majesty now, is their good Lords prisoner, and that shee either will or must bee directed by him for the time to come, except shee will doe worse : Which thing his Lordship is well

contented should bee spred abroad, and believed, for two causes: the one to hold the people thereby more in awe of himselfe, then of their Soveraigne: and secondly to draw her Majestie indeed by degrees to feare him. For considering with himselfe what he hath done: and that it is impossible in truth that ever Her Majesty should love him again, or trust him after so many treacheries, as he well knoweth are come to Her Highnesse understanding: hee thinketh that he hath no way of sure standing, but by terrour, and opinion of his puissant greatnesse; whereby hee would hold Her Majesty, and the Realme in thraldome, as his father did in his time before him. And then for that he well remembreth the true saying, *Malus custos diuturnitatis, metus*: he must provide shortly that those which feare him, be not able to hurt him: and consequently you know what must follow, by the example of King *Edward*, who feared Duke *Dudley* extremely, for that hee had cut off his two Vncles heads, and the Duke tooke order that hee should never live to revenge the same. For it is a setled rule of Machivell, which the *Dudleys* doe observe: *That, where you have once done a great injury, there must you never forgive.*

*Cicero in
Officio.*

A rule of
Machivell
observed by
the *Dudleys*.

But I will tell you (my friends) and I will tell you no untruth, for that I know what I speake herein, and am privie to the state of my Lord in this behalfe, and

Leycest. strong
only by Her
Majesties
favour.

of mens opinions and affections towards him within the Realme. Most certaine it is, that he is strong by the present favour of the Prince (as hath been shewed before) in respect whereof, hee is admitted also as chiefe patron of the *Huntington* faction, though neither loved, nor greatly trusted of the same: but let her Majesty once turne her countenance aside from him in good earnest, and speake but the word only, that justice shall take place against him: and I will undertake with gaging of both my life and little lands that God hath given me, that without sturre or trouble, or any danger in the world, the Beare shall be taken to Her Majesties hand, and fast chained to a stake, with mouzel cord, collar and ring, and all other things necessary: so that Her Majesty shall baite him at her pleasure, without all danger of byting, breaking loose, or any other inconvenience whatsoever.

An offer made
for taking and
tying the
Bear.

For (Sirs) you must not thinke, that this man holdeth any thing abroad in the Realme but by violence, and that only upon her Majesties favour and countenance towards him. Hee hath not any thing of his owne, either from his ancestors, or of himselfe, to stay upon, in mens hearts or conceits: he hath not ancient nobility, as other of our Realme have, wherby mens affections are greatly moved. His father *Iohn Dudley* was the first noble of his line: who raysed and

Leicester
what he
receiveth
from his
ancestors.

made himselfe bigge by supplanting of other, and by setting debate among the Nobility: as also his Grandfather *Edmond*, a most wicked Promoter, and wretched Petifoger, enriched himself by other mens ruines: both of them condemned Traytors, though different in quality, the one being a Cousener, and the other a Tyrant, and both of their vices conioyned, collected, and comprised (with many more additions) in this man (or beast rather) which is *Robert*, the third of their kinne and kind. So that, from his ancestors, this Lord receiveth neither honour nor honesty, but only succession of treason and infamy.

And yet in himselfe hath hee much lesse of good, wherewith to procure himselfe love or credit among men, then these ancestors of his had; he being a man wholly abandoned of humane vertue, and devoted to wickednesse, which maketh men odible both to God and man. In his father (no doubt) there were to bee seene many excellent good parts, if they had beene ioyned, with faith, honesty, moderation, and loyaltie. For all the world knoweth, that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, liberall, and assured friendly where hee once promised: of all which vertues, my Lord his sonne, hath neither shew nor shadow, but only a certaine false representation of the first, being crafty and subtile to deceive, and ingenious to wicked-

The
Comparison
of *Leicester*
with his
father.

nesse. For as for valour, he hath as much as hath a mouse : his magnanimity, is base sordidity : his liberality, rapine : his friendship, plaine fraud, holding only for his gaine, and no otherwise, though it were bound with a thousand oaths ; of which he maketh as great account, as hens doe of cackling, but only for his commodity ; using them specially, and in greatest number, when most hee meaneth to deceive. Namely, if he sweare solemnely by his *George*, or by the eternall God, then be sure it is a false lye : for these are observations in the Court : and sometimes in his owne lodging ; in like case his manner is to take up and sweare by the Bible, whereby a Gentleman of good account, and one that seemeth to follow him (as many doe that like him but a little) protested to me of his knowledge, that in a very short space, he observed him, wittingly and willingly, to be forsworne sixteene times.

The
weakenesse
of *Leist.* if
her Majesty
turne but her
countenance
from him.

This man therefore, so contemptible by his ancestors, so odible of himselfe, so plunged, overwhelmed, and defamed in all vice, so envied in the Court, so detested in the countrey, and not trusted of his own and dearest friends ; nay (which I am privie to) so misliked and hated of his owne servants about him, for his beastly life, nigardy, and Atheisme (being never seene yet, to say one private prayer within his Chamber in his life) as they desire nothing in this world so

much as his ruine, and that they may be the first, to lay hands upon him for revenge. This man (I say) so broken both within and without, is it possible that Her Majesty, and her wise Councell should feare? I can never beleeeve it; or if it be so, it is Gods permission without all cause, for punishment of our sinnes: for that this man, if hee once perceive indeed that they feare him, will handle them accordingly, and play the Beare indeed: Which inconvenience I hope they will have care to prevent, and so I leave it to God, and them; craving pardon of my Lord of *Leicester* for my boldnesse, if I have beene too plaine with him. And so I pray you let us goe to supper, for I see my servant expecting yonder at the gallerie doore, to call us downe.

To that, said the Lawyer, I am content with all my heart; and I would it had beene sooner, for that I am afraid, lest any by chance have over-heard us here since night. For my owne part, I must say, that I have not beene at such a conference this seven yeares, nor meane to be hereafter, if I may escape well with this; wherof I am sure I shall dreame this fort-night, and think oftner of my Lord of *Leicester*, then ever I had entended: God amend him and me both. But if ever I heare at other hands of these matters hereafter, I shall surely be quak-britch, and

Lawyer.

The end and
departure
from the
Gallerie.

thinke every bush a theefe. And with that, came up the Mistris of the house, to fetch us downe to supper, and so all was husht, saving that at supper a Gentleman or two began againe to speake of my Lord, and that so conformable to some of our former speech (as indeed it is the common talke at tables every where) that the old Lawyer began to shrink and be appaled and to cast dry lookes upon the Gentleman our friend, doubting least something had beene discovered of our conference. But indeed it was not so.

FINIS.

PIA ET VTILIS MEDITATIO,

desumpta ex libro Iobi. CAP. 20.

*H*OC scio a principio, ex quo positus est homo super terram, quod laus impiorum, brevis fit, ex gaudium hipocritæ ad instar puncti. Si ascenderit usq ad cælum superbia eius, et caput eius nubes tetigerit : quasi sterquilinum in fine perdetur, et qui eum viderant, dicent, ubi est ? velut somnium avolans non inveniatur, transiet sicut visio nocturna. Oculus qui eum viderat, non videbit, neq ; ultra intuebitur eum locus suus. Filii ejus atterentur egestate, & manus illius reddent ei laborem suum. Ossa ejus implebuntur vitiis adolescentiæ ejus, & cum eo in pulvere dormient. Panis ejus in utero illius ; vertetur in fel aspidum intrinsecus. Divitias quas devoravit, e. vomet, & de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput aspidum surget, & occidet eum linguam vipræ. Luet quæ fecit omnia, nec tamen consumetur. Iuxta multitudinem adinventionum suarum, sic & sustinebit. Quoniam confringens nudabit pauperes : domum rapuit, & non ædificavit eam : nec est satiatus venter ejus, & cum habuerit quæ concupierit, possidere non poterit. Non remansit de cibo ejus, & propterea non permanebit de bonis ejus. Cum satiatus fuerit,

arctabitur, æstuabit, & omnis dolor irruet super eum. Utinam impleatur venter eius, ut imitat in eum (Deus) iram furoris sui, & pluat super illum bellum suum. Fugiet arma ferrea, & irruet in arcum æreum. Gladius eductus & egrediens de vagina sua, & fulgurans in amaritudine sua : Omnes tenebræ absconditæ sunt in occultis eius. Devorabit eum ignis qui non succenditur, affligetur relictus in tabernaculo suo. Apertumerit germen domus illius, detrahetur in die furoris dei. Hæc est pars hominis impii, à deo, & hæreditas verborum eius à domino.

A GODLY AND PROFITABLE MEDITATION,

*taken out of the 20 Chapter of the Booke
of Job.*

THIS I know from the first, that man was placed upon earth, that the praise (or applause) given to wicked men, endureth but a little, and the joy of an hypocrite, is but for a moment. Though his pride were so great as to mount to heaven, and his head should touch the skies: yet in the end shall hee come to perdition as a dung-hill, and they who beheld him (in glory before) shall say, where is hee? he shall bee found as a flying dreame, and as a phantasie by night shall fade away. The eye that beheld him before, shall no more see him, not yet shall his place (of honour) ever more behold him. His children shall bee worne out with beggary, and his owne hands shall returne upon him his sorrow. His (old) bones shall bee replenished with the vices of his youth, and they shall sleepe with him in his grave. His bread in his belly,

The wicked mans pompe.
His joy.
His pride.
His fall.
His children.
His old age.
His bread.

A Godly and profitable meditation, &c.

shall be turned inwardly into the gaule of Serpents.
The riches which hee hath deuoured, hee shall vomit
foorth againe, and God shall pull them foorth of his
belly. Hee shall suck the head of Cocatrices, and the
(venemous) tongues of adders shall slay him. Hee
shall sustaine due punishment for all the wickednesse
that hee hath committed, nor yet shall hee have end
or consumation thereof. Hee shall suffer according to
the multitude of all his wicked inventions. For that
by violence hee hath spoiled the poore, made havock
of his house, and not builded the same. His wombe
is never satisfied, and yet when hee hath that which
hee desired, hee shall not bee able to possesse the
same. There remaineth no part of his meat (for the
poore :) and therefore there shall remaine nothing of
his goods. When his belly is full, then shall hee begin
to bee straitened, then shall hee sweat, and all kind of
sorrow shall rush upon him. I would his belly were
once full, that God might send foorth upon him the
rage of his fury, and raine upon him his warre. Hee
shall flie away from iron weapons, and runne upon a
bow of brasse. A drawne sword comming out of his
skabard shall flash as lightning in his bitterness. All
darknesse lie hidden for him in secret : the fire that
needeth no kindling shall deuoure him, and hee shall
bee tormented alone in his tabernacle. The off-spring

A Godly and profitable meditation, &c.

of his house shall bee made open, and pulled downe,
in the day of Gods fury. This is the portion of a
wicked man from God, and this is the inheritance of
his substance from the Lord.

FINIS.





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